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F.W. VAN HEERTUM

A critical edition of Joseph Swetnam's  
**THE ARAIGNMENT OF LEWD, IDLE, FROWARD, AND  
UNCONSTANT WOMEN (1615)**

THE  
ARAIGNMENT

Of Lewde, idle, froward, and vncon-  
stant women : Or the vanitie of them,  
choose you whether.

With a Commendacion of wise, vertuous,  
and honest Women.

Pleasant for married Men, profitable for young Men,  
and hurtfull to nope.



LONDON

Printed by E. A. for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his shop  
in Popes-head Pallace nere the Royall Exchange.

1615. 7

THE CICERO PRESS

Nijmegen



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UNCONSTANT WOMEN (1615)**



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THE ARAIGNMENT OF LEWD, IDLE, FROWARD, AND  
UNCONSTANT WOMEN

published by  
The Cicero Press



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A critical edition of Joseph Swetnam's  
**THE ARAIGNMENT OF LEWD, IDLE, FROWARD, AND  
UNCONSTANT WOMEN (1615)**

een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de letteren

**PROEFSCHRIFT**

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan  
de Katholieke Universiteit te Nijmegen,  
volgens besluit van het College van Decanen  
in het openbaar te verdedigen op maandag 3 april 1989

des namiddags te 3.30 uur

door

**FRANCISCA WILHELMINA VAN HEERTUM**

geboren 2 juli 1958 te 's-Hertogenbosch

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**Co-referent: Dr. J.M. Blom**

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I dedicate this book to my mother and father.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| ABPC             | American Book Prices Current   |
| Arber            | Arber, E. <u>A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640</u> , 4 vols., Gloucester, Mass., 1967 (1875-94).   |
| Arbour           | Arbour, R. <u>L'ère baroque en France. Répertoire Chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires</u> . Part 1 1585-1615, Part 2 1616-1628, Part 3 1629-1643, 4 vols., Genève 1977-80.  |
| BAR              | Book Auction Records   |
| CSPD             | <u>Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series</u> , Edward VI-Elizabeth I, ed. R. Lemon <u>et al.</u> , 12 vols., London 1856-72; James I-Charles I, ed. J. Bruce <u>et al.</u> , 23 vols., London 1858-97.   |
| DNB              | <u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> , eds. L. Stephen and S. Lee, 69 vols., London 1885-1912.  |
| EDD              | <u>English Dialect Dictionary</u> , ed. J. Wright, 6 vols., Oxford 1898-1905.  |
| Eyre & Rivington | <u>A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708</u> , 3 vols., Gloucester, Mass., 1967 (1913-14).   |
| Greg             | <u>A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration</u> , 4 vols., London 1970 (1939-59).  |
| OED              | <u>A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles</u> , ed. J.A.H. Murray <u>et al.</u> , 10 vols., Oxford 1884-1933.   |
| SR               | Stationers' Registers.   |
| STC              | <u>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland &amp; Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640</u> , eds. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, K.F. Pantzer, 2 vols., London: The Bibliographical Society 1986 (vol.1) and 1976 (vol.2). |
| Tilley           | Tilley, M.P. <u>A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century</u> , Ann Arbor 1950.   |
| Wilson           | Wilson, F.P., ed. <u>The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs</u> , Oxford 1970.  |
| Wing             | <u>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700</u> , 3 vols., New York 1978, 1982, 1988 (1945-51).  |





THE  
ARaignment  
OF LEVVD, IDLE, FRO-  
ward, and vnconstant women: Or

*the vanitie of them, choise whether.*

With a Commendation of wise, vertuous and  
*honest women.*

Pleasant for married Men, profitable for young Men, and  
*hurtfull to none.*



LONDON

Printed by George Purlove for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold  
at his shop in Popes-head Pallace, neere the Royall  
Exchange. 1615.

## INTRODUCTION

Joseph Swetnam's The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women, which came out in 1615, has had a busy publishing history. There are thirteen surviving seventeenth-century editions of this attack on women, another five extant editions in the first half of the eighteenth century, followed by an antiquarian reprint of the first edition in 1807. The Araignment of Women was also translated into Dutch by the Leyden printer and bookseller Willem Christiaens van der Boxe as the Recht-banck tegen de Luye, Korzelighe, en Wispeltuyrige Vrouwen in 1641. There are four surviving editions of the Recht-banck in the seventeenth century, and two further early eighteenth-century editions still extant.

The number of reprints of The Araignment of Women points to its steady popularity. Two years after its first publication in 1615 (reprints had followed in 1615 and 1616), the popularity of The Araignment of Women with the 'vulgar ignorant' was the ostensible reason for the appearance of three responses, Rachel Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus, Ester Sowernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman, and Constantia Munda's The Worming of a mad Dogge, probably published before May 1617. All three respondents discuss Swetnam's manifest ignorance. The responses reveal that Swetnam's adversaries were better educated than the author of this popular attack on women. Another response to The Araignment of Women, which also incorporates references to the three responses, was the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, performed at the Red Bull Theatre between 1617 and March 1619. The Red Bull was a popular theatre, patronised largely by the 'man in the street'. The play was published in 1620, the year in which another woman controversy, the Hic Mulier - Haec Vir controversy, appeared.

None of the responses to The Araignment of Women were reprinted in the early seventeenth century, although Ester Sowernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman was re-issued together with The Araignment of Women in the antiquarian reprint of 1807. A modern critical edition of the three responses in the Swetnam controversy has been provided by S. Shepherd in The Women's Sharp Revenge: Five Women's Pamphlets from the Renaissance (1985). The play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women was edited by A.B. Grosart in 1880, by J.S. Farmer for the Tudor Facsimile Texts in 1914, and in more recent years by C. Crandall in 1969. The Araignment of Women itself appeared in a modernised and abridged version in Half Humankind: Texts and Contexts of the Controversy about Women, edited by K.U. Henderson and B.F. McManus (1985).

A number of studies in recent and less recent years have paid attention to The Araignment of Women from a socio-cultural or literary-cultural angle. L.B. Wright in Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (1935) sees Swetnam as a middle-class author who 'hit upon the grievances that the average citizen, especially among the Puritans, regarded as the besetting sins of woman' (pp.487-8). L. Stone in The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (1977) believes that the popularity of The Araignment of Women reflects popular attitudes towards women (p.197), and discusses these popular attitudes towards women in the context of the subordinate position of wives to their husbands. L. Woodbridge, in Women and the English Renaissance. Literature and the Nature of Womanhood 1540-1620 (1984), discusses The Araignment of Women and the ensuing Swetnam controversy from the perspective of what she calls the formal literary controversy about women, which included both attacks on and defences of women, and which had a number of features in common. She does not believe that attacks and defences can be read as more or less straightforward reflections of actual attitudes towards women (p.5), but sees both The Araignment of Women and the responses it provoked in terms

of a literary game, with Joseph Swetnam as the rather perfunctory initiator.

If popular attitudes towards women reverberated in The Araignment of Women to such an extent that it made Swetnam's attack on women immediately popular, as Wright and Stone seem to suggest, then the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women presents a problem. In this play Swetnam is presented to the audience as a comic character (see chapter 2.2.3 of the present study). The very existence of the play and its apparent success suggests that the audience of the Red Bull Theatre (and, since the play on various occasions draws on The Araignment of Women almost verbatim, probably also the readers of Swetnam's attack on women) cannot have taken the popular stereotypes about women too seriously. Another reader of The Araignment of Women, the Leyden printer and bookseller Willem Christiaens van der Boxe, also stressed the entertainment value of his translated Recht-banck when he advertised Swetnam as a 'clucht-hoofdigen Poët' ['a farcical poet'].

Woodbridge approaches The Araignment of Women and the controversy from another angle when she describes Swetnam and his opponents as participants in a literary game. She states that Swetnam 'neither respects nor understands the genre' (p.87), and argues that his adversaries mainly take him to task for his incompetent role in the literary battle. Although Woodbridge fruitfully explores this point of view in Women and the English Renaissance, she would seem to interpret particularly Speght's response too uniformly in the context of the formal controversy (see chapter 3.2.3), while her contention - that Swetnam's adversaries respond largely from an outraged sense of propriety concerning the rules of the formal controversy - seems to overemphasize the allegedly literary context of the Swetnam controversy. It would seem that the discrepancy in the social and cultural status of Joseph Swetnam and his adversaries is the real issue in the Swetnam controversy. A study of the sources of The Araignment of Women (see chapter 2.2.1) shows that Swetnam as an author most probably, and in some cases demonstrably, relied on books expressly designed to cater for the formally uneducated reading public. The adversaries also refer, with greater or lesser degrees of contempt, to the 'vulgar ignorant', who appear to be buying up The Araignment of Women with great enthusiasm - that their approval was probably not as unqualified as Rachel Speght, Ester Sovernam and Constantia Munda allege is perhaps evident, as has already been stated, from the portrayal of Joseph Swetnam in the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women.

It seems that The Araignment of Women should be classed in the diffuse category of popular reading rather than in that of the woman controversy. It is impossible to gauge the intentions of its rather anonymous author, both because of the absence of biographical information, and because of the general nature of this attack on women. There is no internal evidence to suggest any specific conviction, and The Araignment of Women, although clearly product of its time, possesses a certain timelessness which enabled it to be reprinted without major alterations throughout the seventeenth century. Apart from the initial controversy of 1617, which mainly revolves around the contradictions inherent in The Araignment of Women, and the ignorance of its author, the text drew no further polemic responses, but was reprinted by its successive publishers along with other works designed for the popular market.

Woodbridge (p.82) also argues that 'The main sales booster [for The Araignment of Women] must have been its very notoriety: it was answered by three direct rebuttals, one indirect rebuttal [see chapter 3.1], and a play'. It is, however, arguable (see chapter 3) that the controversy and The Araignment of Women were directed at different ends of the book market. A study of the publishers involved in the production of The Araignment of Women (see chapter 4.2) shows that on the whole they catered for the popular book

market. This is not the case for the publishers involved in the last two responses in the controversy. Thomas Archer, who published both The Araignment of Women and A Mouzell for Melastomus, is an exception, but his involvement in the publication of A Mouzell for Melastomus is not typical for his output (see chapter 3.2.3 and chapter 4.2). The initial replies to The Araignment of Women can be seen as an illustration of the reception which Swetnam's attack is likely to have had with an educated reading public. It may also be assumed that they were not read by the audience for which The Araignment of Women catered.

Moreover, if the Swetnam controversy was the main sales booster for The Araignment of Women, that fails to explain the continued popularity of The Araignment of Women throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. One explanation which may be offered for the popularity of Swetnam's attack had already been expressed in Constantia Munda's contemptuous reference to the store of historical anecdotes, 'whiche the poore deluded Corydons and sillie swaines account for oracles, and maintaine as axiomes' (E3<sup>v</sup>). Whether the popular reading public were as gullible as Constantia Munda seems to imply cannot be determined; but she emphasizes a quality which Willem Christiaens van der Boxe apparently felt to be sufficiently appealing to merit inclusion on the title-page of the first edition of the Recht-banck: he published it 'Om de Historische vertellingen, ende kortswijlicheystwille, uyt het Engelse gedruckte Exemplaer van dien Clucht-hoofdigen Poët M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Swetnam' ['Because of the historical tales, and for amusement's sake, from the English printed copy of that farcical Poet M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Swetnam'].

The present study, which completes the modern availability of the Swetnam controversy and the play, aims to provide an integral and unmodernised edition of The Araignment of Women, based on the second edition, which came out in 1615 (see chapter 6.2). The edition will be preceded by an extensive treatment of the book in material and non-material terms. In the absence of biographical information about Swetnam, and because of the scarcity of the internal evidence in The Araignment of Women, the text will be studied from a number of angles - sources, prose style, reception, contemporary responses - to define the status of the author and its work in the early seventeenth century. The Araignment of Women will also be studied from the points of view of its publishing history and transmission of the text, to follow its career throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Chapter 1 will consider how far Swetnam's attack can be related to the genre of attacks and defences of women. Chapter 2 will discuss Joseph Swetnam in the context of his other extant published work, a fencing manual called The Schoole of the Noble and Worthy Science of Defence (1617), and will look into the sources, prose style and contemporary reception of The Araignment of Women, in order to try and present a fuller picture of an otherwise obscure author. Chapter 3 will note the answers of the three respondents in the controversy, mainly from the perspective of their superior educational status and possible motives for responding to such an 'illiterate Pamphlet'. Chapter 3 will also present some biographical information about Rachel Speght, the only participant in the controversy to write under her own name. Her other published work, Mortalities Memorandum (1621), in which she comments retrospectively on the Swetnam controversy, will also be briefly discussed, as well as an annotated copy, in a contemporary hand, of A Mouzell for Melastomus, presently in the holdings of the Beinecke Library. Chapter 4 will present an account of the publishing history of The Araignment of Women and the Recht-banck, in order to place Swetnam's attack in the context of the output of its various publishers. This account provides further evidence for the conclusion that The Araignment of Women can be classed in the category of popular entertainment. Chapter 5 will provide bibliographical descriptions of

the English and Dutch editions, with the provenance of the various extant copies and the book-collecting interests of the owners of copies of The Araignment of Women. Chapter 6 will present a text introduction to The Araignment of Women, with particular attention to the transmission of the text. The text of the second edition (1615) is here reproduced, with textual footnotes and a commentary, in which the sources for The Araignment of Women will be noted as well as the responses of Swetnam's adversaries to relevant passages in The Araignment of Women.

Although some attention will be paid to the socio-cultural implications of The Araignment of Women and the controversy in the first three chapters of the present study, and an attempt will be made occasionally to supplement the conclusions of general socio-cultural or literary-cultural studies such as Woodbridge's Women and the English Renaissance, the main emphasis in the present study is on the material conditions, the reception, sources and large number of reprints of this popular work, and the attention which it received from its various publishers when it came to publishing a work designed for the popular market (see particularly chapter 6). As The Araignment of Women continued to be reprinted in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and so established itself as a popular work, the method followed in chapters 4, 5 and 6, with its emphasis on the bibliopolic, typographical and bibliographical aspects of the successive editions, attempts to evaluate the position of a minor popular work like The Araignment of Women within the various publishers' stocklists, and its position in relation to the other works in the publishers' stocklists. The basic interest underlying these chapters is the publishing career of a minor, popular work. The socio-cultural implication of the continued popularity of The Araignment of Women (in the 1704 edition and subsequent editions with the support of a companion text) does not lie within the scope of this study, although it is interesting to note that some seventy years after the last trade edition of 1733, Swetnam's attack was reprinted as an antiquarian tract, obviously intended for a different reading public from that of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The fact that The Araignment of Women was no longer reprinted after 1733 must point to a change in popular taste. Constantia Munda had already noted with disdain in 1617 that popular interest in The Araignment of Women focused on its historical anecdotes. The narrative appeal of The Araignment of Women and similar popular works in the publishers' stocklists may have been superseded in the first three decades of the eighteenth century by the appeal of the abridged versions of contemporary novels, which were usually issued in duodecimo format, chapbooks clearly intended for the popular reading public.

An examination and annotation of the text makes it possible to find the exact and approximate sources which went into the making of The Araignment of Women, thus providing a very concrete socio-cultural background to the reading of an author who is dismissed by his adversaries as illiterate to the extreme. An annotation of the proverbial contents of the text also establishes the precise connotations of the proverbial phrases used by Swetnam and prevents corruption of the text by modernisation and misinterpretation of contemporary phrases.

With regard to the actual text edition and the textual and explanatory notes, the method employed seemed to have these two distinct advantages:

- 1). an examination of the role which the various publishers played in the publication of The Araignment of Women and the responses in the Swetnam controversy throws light on the relationship between publisher and published work, and may help to define the origins of the controversy from the publishing point of view. S. Shepherd (ed.) in The Women's Sharp Revenge makes an interesting point when he supposes 'a readiness to pick up

commercial advantage' (p.22) on the part of the publishers, but misinterprets possible commercial motives behind the Swetnam controversy because he believes that the printers, and not the publishers, are the real entrepreneurs behind The Araignment of Women and the three responses;

2). a careful comparison of the text of the various editions enables a reconstruction of the family tree of The Araignment of Women and the possible motives behind revisions of the text, thus clarifying the elements that played a role in its publishing history.

The present study concentrates on one specific case, examined mainly from a bibliographical point of view, and is based on the assumption that a description of the material conditions attending each edition - the various publishers involved, their interests and scope as publishers, and the transmission of the text - can throw an interesting light on the way The Araignment of Women was viewed both by those on the producing end, and by those on the receiving end.



## Chapter 1

### The Debate before Swetnam's The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women

#### 1.1 Introduction

The Araignment of Women was first published in 1615. The author of this attack on women, who declared in his first dedicatory epistle that he had 'vowed for ever to be an open enemy unto women' (A3<sup>r</sup>), nevertheless chose to be known under the pseudonym of 'Thomas Telltroth'. His real name, Joseph Swetnam, was made public - with or without the author's consent - in the second edition which came out in the same year. Further editions followed in 1616 and 1617.

In 1617, the year when The Araignment of Women went through its fourth edition, three responses were published: Rachel Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus, Ester Sovernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman and Constantia Munda's The Worming of a mad Dogge. In 1620 the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women appeared. It is described in the entry of the Stationers' Registers as a 'Comedy'. None of these responses were reprinted, while The Araignment of Women went through a considerable number of editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Although a small number of plays and moralistic works on women were published in London in the years 1610 to 1615,<sup>1</sup> there is no - extant - evidence of a spate of satirical attacks on women among which The Araignment of Women can be placed. The historical circumstance of the Overbury murder and its aftermath is sometimes adduced to explain the immediate popularity of The Araignment of Women.<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Overbury, a courtier, had been sent to the Tower in April 1613 on a trumped-up charge, and slowly poisoned in prison. He died in October of the same year. His opposition to the marriage of his friend Robert Carr, then Lord Rochester, subsequently created Earl of Somerset, with Frances Howard, a daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, was the occasion of this conspiracy to murder. In 1615, when The Araignment of Women went through two editions, Mrs Turner, a physician's widow and an accomplice in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, was put on trial and sentenced to the gallows. A number of ballads and news pamphlets were published after the event, and in 1616 a minister reported about her public repentance that she 'did confesse [...] that she was hainously guilty of the murder of Sir Thomas



Overburie, [...] detesting her former life led in poperie, pride and sensualitie, and exhorting the assistants [spectators] with much earnestness to leave off their yellow bands, and of garish fashions, the very inventions of the divell'. Mrs Turner's Catholicism was a bonus for the Protestant propagandists, but equally important to the contemporary mind was her widowed licentiousness.<sup>3</sup>

In April 1616 Frances Carr, Countess of Somerset, was also implicated in the Overbury murder together with her husband Robert Carr, and committed to the Tower. Although the Countess too was found guilty, she was pardoned by King James in July 1616 and eventually released from the Tower in 1621. Frances Carr had earlier gained notoriety as the claimant in the Essex divorce case of 1613, a legal farce which ridded her of an undesired husband and left her free to marry James's favourite, Robert Carr. James's benevolence towards Frances Carr in 1616 apparently did not meet with public approval. John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton on 20 July 1616, when the royal pardon was a week old:

Yt seemes the common people take not this for goode payment, for on Saturday last the Quene with the Countesse of Darbie, the Lady Ruthen and the Lord Carew comming privatly in coach to see somewhat here in towne, there grew a whispering that yt was the Lady Somerset and her mother, whereupon people flocked together and followed the coach in great numbers rayling and reviling, and abusing the footmen, and putting them all in feare.<sup>4</sup>

The title of Joseph Swetnam's attack on women may have called to mind the trials of Mrs Turner and Frances Carr in the years immediately after its first publication, and so boosted sales. However, the scandal was not yet public early in 1615, and it seems unlikely that The Araignment of Women itself was a contemporary - and premature - response to the Overbury murder.

The Araignment of Women would rather appear to be another item in the long list of prose and verse attacks on women, which are part and parcel of the printed output of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> A number of these attacks parade single vices such as pride and unfaithfulness, which are presented as eminently female vices. The title of one such (verse) attack, The Proude Wyves Pater Noster, that wolde go gaye, and undyd her Husbonde and went her way (1560), gives the reader a précis of its contents. The poem opens with a description of church-going women. Although all women gathered to hear mass present a 'co[un]tenance demure' (A2<sup>r</sup>), they are really feverishly thinking of ways to outrival each other in dress. After this

introductory view of the assembled women, the focus shifts to the covetous young wife of the title. Her prayer to God is a comical evocation of her most urgent concerns: 'Sanctificetur nomen tuum - Lorde halowed be thy name / Yf to such gere I may come', and 'Adveniat regnum tuum [...] / But whyle we be here now, swete Jesus, / As other women have, such gere in me sende' (A2<sup>v</sup>). In the second part of the poem, when the young wife confronts her husband, fortified by the advice of her elder and more experienced neighbour, the tone of the poem changes from good-humoured indulgence of the wife to unalloyed sympathy with the husband. He answers his wife's inordinate demands with the voice of caution but, as the title indicates, without success.

Another, earlier poem, The Boke of Mayd Emlyn [1510?] describes the amorous exploits of the irrepressible Emlyn. The poem's sub-title, 'that had .v husband[s] & all cockold[s]', expresses its primary interest with a certain aplomb. After a rapid succession of husbands and lovers, Emlyn decides to remain unmarried and to prostitute herself to all takers: 'At the stewes was her abydyng' (B4<sup>r</sup>). The poem characteristically ends on a pious note: 'But they that rede this erly or late/ I praye Jesus theyr soules take/ Amen, saye ye also' (B4<sup>r</sup>).

Satirical attacks such as The Proude Wyves Pater Noster and The Boke of Mayd Emlyn capitalize on the stereotypical vanity and insatiability of women. These attacks are usually straightforward narratives interspersed with pious or moralistic comments, a standard recipe. Apart from these verse and prose attacks which concentrated on single vices, another group of attacks on - and defences of - women is distinguished, which does not present single items such as pride and unconstancy, but rather offer a 'complete', though equally stereotypical, view of women.

## 1.2 Attacks on and defences of women

This group of attacks on and defences of women is styled 'the formal controversy' by Linda Woodbridge in Women and the English Renaissance, because both attacks and defences share a number of distinct formal features. They are defined by Woodbridge as follows: all works 'foster a sense of genuine debate, positing an opponent whose possible arguments the author anticipates or rebuts'. All works 'address the nature of Woman in general', and 'deal exclusively with the nature of Woman'. All works draw on a common fund of exempla: 'historical and/or literary examples, usually biblical or

classical in origin, of good women or bad'. Finally, all works 'argue their case theoretically, relying heavily on abstractions, rather than bringing their charges against women or vindications of women to life as object lessons'.<sup>6</sup>

Woodbridge dates the beginning of the formal controversy in England to 1540, with the publication of Sir Thomas Elyot's dialogue The Defence of Good Women.<sup>7</sup> A year later The Scholehouse of Women, a verse attack on women, was published. This poem combines all the features characteristic of the formal controversy, although these features are not in themselves new to the debate on women. Francis Lee Utley in The Crooked Rib has shown that the use of examples and the discussion of the nature of women, can already be found well before the 1540s,<sup>8</sup> but The Scholehouse of Women is the first attack on women which is the occasion of a 'querelle des femmes' in England, and so begins the tradition of the 'genuine debate' which is one of the features of the formal controversy. The Scholehouse of Women was answered by The Prayse of Women, called Mulieru[m] Pean in 1542, by Edward Gosynhill, who was possibly also the author of The Scholehouse of Women. In 1560, when The Scholehouse of Women was reprinted, another direct response, A little and bryefe treatyse, called the defence of Women, was published.<sup>9</sup>

Most participants in the debate adopted the same opening moves. The detractors would present themselves as arbiters of right and wrong, holding up a mirror to the bad, and apologizing to the good, who need not take offence. Or they would pose as disenchanted lovers, who presented their written renunciation of love for the edification of their male readers. In either case, the detractors imagined a hostile female audience, and the motives of possible female critics were immediately discredited: they were naturally offended only because guilty of the charges which followed against women. The apologists for women too began by discrediting their opponents. Detractors of women were presented as men who attacked that in women of which they were really guilty themselves. Or they were dismissed as frustrated lovers, disappointed in or rejected by the women they once adored. They were always seen as unreasonable or frenzied creatures whose attacks were disproportionate to the occasion. After these introductory statements, usually to be found in the dedicatory epistles, both detractors and apologists would embark on a consideration of the nature of woman.

The nature of women was either considered to be absolutely good or absolutely bad. The debate drew on traditional theological and biological or

medical assumptions about women which the detractors of women put to use to prove the absolute inferiority of women, while the apologists for women argued for the absolute superiority of women on the basis of the same traditional views.<sup>10</sup> The account of the Fall in Genesis for example, much commented on by Catholic and later Protestant biblical exegetes,<sup>11</sup> was one of the most important issues in the debate. It offered an easy argumentative victory for the detractors of women, who had a mass of biblical exegetical material behind them to support their thesis that woman was morally and intellectually inferior to man. Although the biblical commentators gave much thought to the respective magnitude of Adam's and Eve's transgression,<sup>12</sup> their fine distinctions were lost on the detractors of women who assumed, for the sake of the argument, that woman bore the greater responsibility in causing the Fall. She was the first to offend against the divine commandment, blinded by ambition, greed, vanity and covetousness, typically female vices thereafter. She deceived her husband, then and now. Thomas Nash in The Anatomie of Absurditie called women 'predestinated by the father of eternitie, even in the nonage of nature, to be the Illiads of evils to all nations'.<sup>13</sup> The apologists for women on the other hand had to provide a positive interpretation for this passage in Genesis. One apologist for women gave a complimentary turn to the reason why Eve was the first to be assailed by the serpent: 'To winne man he thought it was no doubt,/ That was his feare the woman would stand out'.<sup>14</sup> Likewise Eve's punishment in Genesis 3:16 is also given a positive interpretation. Jane Anger, mixing pagan deities and Lucifer, claims that 'the gods, having thoroughly viewed the wonderfull vertues wherewith women are enriched', gave men supremacy over women in case the latter's excellent virtues 'should provoke us to pride, and so confound us with Lucifer'.<sup>15</sup>

The Creation of Eve was another major issue in the debate, and again Genesis offered ample scope for arguments to and fro. Biblical commentators on Genesis 2:22 seriously and lengthily pondered the meaning of the rib, but would also include facetious comments found in Hebrew commentaries on Genesis. Andrew Willet, who wrote a commentary on Genesis which was published in 1605, warned that it was 'ridiculous, which some Hebrews note, that the woman was made of a bone, to shewe her hard and intollerable nature'. (He goes on himself to note - without further comment - that she 'was taken from under the armes, that shee might acknowledge her selfe under subjection to man').<sup>16</sup> The crooked rib is an eternal presence in the debate. The author of

The Scholehouse of Women for example, in a dialogue between himself and a female opponent, in which each taunts the other with arguments drawn from the Creation and Fall in Genesis, claims that as woman was made of the (crooked) rib of man, 'of nature like, I dare well say,/ Of that condition women be'. Like the bone they were made of, women are 'stiff' and 'sturdy'. The crooked rib incidentally also explains why women are so garrulous in company. Put two bones in a bag, and 'Ye shall hear no other matter,/ Of these bones but clitter clatter'.<sup>17</sup> The apologists for women, on the other hand, found evidence for the superiority of woman in her creation because she was created last, in Paradise, of living substance, and for the benefit of man.<sup>18</sup> Man for his part was created before woman, so he must be less excellent than she is; he was created outside the garden of Eden, so he is not a 'Paradisian'; he was formed out of dust, and so must be of a muddy disposition; and he could not live on his own but needed a mate, a companion for life. The 'crooked rib' of the detractors of women becomes a symbol for the companionship between man and woman in the defences: woman was created from a rib near the heart of man to signify that she should be held dear - an argument also found in biblical commentaries.<sup>19</sup>

Both detractors and apologists used exempla to demonstrate the validity of their claims about the nature of women. Examples were recommended in the sixteenth century as persuasive devices, to be introduced in a text or oration to delight and persuade the reader or listener. C. Pyrrye, the author of The Praise and Dispraise of Women, who covered both sides of the debate, provided a store of classical exempla to prove, in The Dispraise of Women, that women are murderous, lecherous and unfaithful ('Examples playne and manifest,/ doe teach it to be true'): Medea murdered her own children, Helen agreed to her abduction by Paris, Scilla betrayed her father, Deianira gave her husband a poisoned shirt. In The Praise of Women, Pyrrye followed the same procedure.<sup>20</sup> Each example was offered as an epitome of womankind, although sometimes one and the same exemplum could serve both camps: Semiramis for example was upheld by apologists for women as the model of the valiant female warrior, while the detractors of women cited her as the embodiment of monstrous lust.<sup>21</sup> Thomas Nash gives a twist to the use of exempla when he challenges the examples of virtuous women. In effect he invalidates the use of examples: 'as there was a loyall Lucretia, so there was a light a love Lais, [...] as there was a modest Medullina, so there was a mischievous Medea, [...] as there was a stedfast Timoclea, so there was a

trayterous Tapeya, [...] as there was a sober Sulpitia, so there was a deceitful Scylla, [...] as there was a chaste Claudia, so there was a wanton Clodia'.<sup>22</sup> Jane Anger questions the validity of examples on the defence side: 'But let us grant that Clytemnestra, Ariadna, Dalilah and Jesabel were spotten with crimes. Shall not Nero with other innumerable, and therefore unnameable, joine hands with them and lead the dance'.<sup>23</sup> Both Thomas Nash and Jane Anger show in effect that examples are inconclusive. The use of exempla came to be condemned in the early seventeenth century as constituting insufficient argumentative evidence.<sup>24</sup>

The dialogue and the judicial or forensic oration were the two favourite literary models for attacks on and defences of women, and exempla were traditionally used in the judicial oration.<sup>25</sup> The judicial oration in particular points to the formal character (and provenance) of the debate. It was one of three oratory models proposed by the rhetoricians Quintillian and Cicero for the presentation of an argument before an audience. The other two models were the demonstrative or eulogistic, and the political or deliberative models. The judicial oration was originally intended for use in courts of law,<sup>26</sup> and so eminently suited for a literary attack or defence. As in the other two oratory models, the argument that was the subject of the judicial oration was arranged in successive parts, usually the introduction, narration, division, proof, refutation and conclusion.<sup>27</sup> Examples usually featured in the proof.

The three oratory models were presented in rhetorical textbooks in English and continental grammar schools for the development and perfection of argumentative skills. The use of the judicial oration for the purpose of attack or defence shows that the formal debate on women is linked with formal education. The participants were aware not only of the literary tradition (use of examples, historical anecdotes, arguments based on the theological and biological conceptions about women), but were also familiar with and employed the strategies available to arrange arguments in writing, in England as well as elsewhere. In his study of defences of women published in France in the period 1400-1800, Marc Angenot discusses the same oratory models in the context of the writings of the French apologists for women. A number of the defences written in France were composed as demonstrative or eulogistic orations and thus proposed to prove the absolute superiority of women over men, in effect a rhetorical tour de force according to Angenot: 'la défense des femmes permet une certaine pratique brillante de

Woodbridge too sees the debate on women in terms of a formalized game, in which the rules are well defined and the exercise of wit, within the confines of the debate, is the real issue.<sup>29</sup> A number of contemporary allusions to the debate on women suggests that the exercise of wit was a motivating force in the formal controversy on women. Jane Anger starts her Protection for Women with a complaint against men who

run so into Rhetorick as often times they overrun the boundes of their own wits, and goe they know not whither. If they have stretched their invention so hard on a last as it is at a stand, there remains but one helpe, which is, to write of us women.<sup>30</sup>

The Disputatio Nova, originally published in 1595 and translated into German and Dutch in the seventeenth century, claims to investigate whether women are human beings or not, and explicitly refers to the sharpening of wits as the occasion for the dialogue.<sup>31</sup> A Dutch defence of women, Der Vrouwen Schildt [The Women's Buckler], published in 1645, also refers to the debate on women, in which men and women traditionally take sides and women are often the losers. The author of Der Vrouwen Schildt writes in his dedicatory epistle that he wants to provide women with a store of arguments against their detractors.<sup>32</sup> Jane Anger for her part appears to invite more contributions to the debate from (supposedly) female authors when she comments on the detractors of women:

But judge what the cause should bee of this their so greate Malice towards simple Women: Doubtles the weaknesse of our wits, and our honest bashfulnesse, by reason whereof they suppose that there is not one amongst us who can, or dare reprove their slanders and false reproches.<sup>33</sup>

Woodbridge argues that the formal controversy was not a 'popular' genre, appealing to the popular reading-public for which products such as ballads normally catered. She points to the use of exempla and historical anecdotes which, with their predominantly classical origin, 'demanded at least the trappings of erudition'.<sup>34</sup> It will be argued in the second chapter that in the case of The Araignment of Women, even the trappings were rather threadbare. If the controversy can be called a formalized game, which could be played with greater or lesser brilliance, then Swetnam's star shines very dimly in this firmament of attackers and defenders.

On the other hand, it would seem to be insufficient to view the Swetnam controversy only in the light of the formal debate and to suggest, as

Woodbridge does for Swetnam's first opponent, Rachel Speght, that the respondents are concerned that 'Swetnam had violated the rules of the rhetorical game'.<sup>35</sup> When Swetnam's opponents attack him for his ignorance, it would appear that the real issue is the obvious difference in educational status between Swetnam and his respondents, and not his failure to comply with the rules of the formal controversy. Why his respondents should have bothered to respond in print at all, in view of the fact that they consider Swetnam to be so much beneath them, remains a matter of speculation. The performance, possibly soon after the controversy, of the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women points to a decided popular interest in Swetnam and his The Arraignment of Women,<sup>36</sup> an interest which was probably alive before the play was staged. The first respondent, Rachel Speght, is not likely to have produced a reply intended to spark off a formal literary debate. Ester Sowernam seems most familiar with the literary tradition of the formal controversy, while Constantia Munda, more than the other two, pours educated scorn on Swetnam's poor and illiterate The Arraignment of Women.

The debate on women in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century is not serious in that it does not really examine the moral and intellectual status of women. Both detractors and defenders present an absolute view of women. To discuss the positive or negative qualities of women within the context of their absolute natural disposition towards virtue or vice is to posit a static view of women. Marie de Gournay's contention, in her essay l'Egalité des Hommes et des Femmes, that when Plato has Socrates dwell on the imprudence of women in the Symposion, 'il les regarde selon l'ignorance et l'inexpérience où elles sont nourriés', and that 'le déffaut de bonne instruction' is responsible for women's apparent inability to rise to the same heights of excellence as men,<sup>37</sup> is alien to the province of the formal controversy.

Because the formula does not change, attacks on and defences of women can only give a very incomplete and stereotypical view of women. The vehement responses to The Arraignment of Women, with the exception of Rachel Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus, do not reveal a changing sensibility towards attacks on women as much as (amused) contempt for a poorly educated and arrogant author, although a growing irritation with the indiscriminate use of examples and historical anecdotes is also felt in these responses.<sup>38</sup> There is not a single glimpse to be got of actual relationships between men and women in The Arraignment of Women and the responses it provoked. Even Ester Sowernam's



introductory picture of a banquet at which she was present and heard of the existence of The Araignment of Women may be a literary convention, although in that case her cursory description of the table-talk was probably true to life.<sup>39</sup> Rachel Speght's traditional views about the good husband were very likely, and unfortunately for her, nullified in her later life by the actions of her own husband.<sup>40</sup>

The Araignment of Women itself contains warnings against rash marriages. The second dedicatory epistle is addressed to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', who are promised a compendium of female vices to make them reconsider possible intentions to marriage. The correspondence between the assumptions in serious didactic and moralistic treatises on marriage and the claims which were put forth in attacks on women has long been established.<sup>41</sup> Because women were considered to be intellectually and morally weak, the (prospective) husband was faced with the task not only of selecting a virtuous and tractable wife, but also had the duty to guide her. The Puritan divine Henry Smith envisaged a hard task for the husband: 'hee must not looke to finde a wife without a fault, but thinke that she is committed to him to reclaime her from her faults'. He refers to Solomon, who 'mounteth the envie of wome[n] above all other envies, stubborne, sullen, taunting, gainsaying, outcrying, with such a bitter humour, that one would thinke they were molten out of the salt pillar into which Lots wife was transformed'. Although he conceded that 'we say not, all are alike', he added, 'but this sect hath manie Disciples'. It does not come as a surprise to find that Smith believed marriage to be 'the hardest vocation of all other'.<sup>42</sup>

A typical representation of the ideal mutual bond in marriage is presented in a wedding sermon by another divine, Samuel Hieron:

If he must be bountifull, surely she must be dutifull, if he must not spare to supplie her, she must not faile to obey him. If his love must be to her without change, her fashion to him must be such as may occasion no distast. Hee must instruct, she must learne; he must guide, she must follow, he must admonish, she must hearken; he must allow her cheerefully out of his estate, she must conforme her selfe contentedly to his estate. He must not straiten her, and she must not undoe him, he must not be bitter, and she must not be stout. In a word he must ever account her for his love, and shee must ever esteeme him as her head.<sup>43</sup>

Another Puritan divine, William Whately, was aware of the discrepancy between marriage theory and marriage practice. He devoted special attention to ill-advised marriages hastily contracted by the young in his marriage treatise,

ominously called A Care-cloth: or a treatise on the troubles of marriage:

it fals out many times, that rash and undiscreeete youths (finding a little trouble, in being subject to their Parents and Masters) entertaine a strong conceite, how happily they should live if they were married: Thence, having so shallow and silly a braine, as not to bee able to conceive of more, in discourse of reason, then they can see and feele with their bodily senses, by and by they runne together, come of it what will, and afterwards wish bootelessly, that they had entertained their former estate with more contentednesse.

He specifically addresses the young:

Thou art now wearie of being under the command of a governor [...] beware thou meete not with one to governe, whom it shall be ten times more hard and troublesome to rule, then to please almost any ruler.<sup>44</sup>

But wedding sermons and marriage treatises as well as attacks on women are no gauge for the actual relationships between men and women. A letter written by John Hoskins, sergeant-at-law, to his first wife Benedicta during a serious illness is perhaps more illuminating:

Yf I scape this and come home be not froward be not crosse, withdraw not y<sup>r</sup> hart nor counsayll from me pracktise not upon me reprehend me no more. for then my next sicknes I will certaynly dy if I can: & would now yf I could. the reaso[n] may be guessed: doe y<sup>u</sup> thincke I speake not more bitterly to my own hart for every offence then you can? doe y<sup>u</sup> thincke it ca[n] be pleasinge to me to see y<sup>u</sup> suffer such things and y<sup>r</sup> eys & authority as y<sup>u</sup> doe in others & reserve y<sup>r</sup> gale for me? This hath made me ask, I have been somtymes stunge a fortnight to breake out in a rage. but god & y<sup>r</sup> soule knows who begins. Seife & sudden will & presumption above y<sup>r</sup> sex in y<sup>u</sup>: riot & misdiet in me must be amended. I by the laws of god am y<sup>r</sup> governor you are not mine. Yf y<sup>u</sup> desire a sole supremacy marry no more when I am dead: there be enough that ca[n] speake y<sup>u</sup> faire & undoe y<sup>u</sup>, and y<sup>u</sup> shall fynd none to deale w<sup>th</sup> myne as I have dealt with y<sup>rs</sup>.<sup>45</sup>

John Hoskins nevertheless bore with the temperament of his wife. On another occasion he wrote: 'I will endure that & ten thousand tymes worse rather then lose y<sup>u</sup> curst as y<sup>u</sup> are & I am the only old poore man on earth that truly loves y<sup>u</sup>'.<sup>46</sup> His occasionally troubled relations with his wife Benedicta are illustrative in a sense of Whately's and Hieron's views of the marital hierarchy: Hoskins too felt that 'I by the laws of god am y<sup>r</sup> governor you are not mine', although it is a matter of speculation in how far Hoskins was only reminding himself of a theoretical possibility. His exasperated 'god & y<sup>r</sup> soule knows who begins' has a more unequivocal status. In all, although

Hoskins repeats traditional views about the respective status of husband and wife in marriage, he seems willing to come to terms with Benedicta. The marital relations between John and Benedicta Hoskins cannot perhaps be taken as representative of overall husband and wife relationships, but Hoskins's reference to the husband as the 'governor' of his wife is a familiar one in contemporary marriage treatises and wedding sermons, and it may perhaps be assumed that the traditional marital hierarchy, if not generally practised, was at least taken for granted.

Some of the advice in The Araignment of Women may have been equally familiar to contemporary readers, and some of the misogynist sallies may have been heard in a very different context. The diary of John Manningham records parts of a sermon on the subject of women, preached by Robert Hemming at Paul's Cross, probably at the end of the sixteenth century. Hemming apparently told his audience words to the effect that 'Yf a man would marrie, it were 1,000 to one but he should chance to find a good one, yet he were not suer [sic] to hold her soe: for women are like a coule full of snakes amongst which there is one eele, a thousand to one yf a man happen upon the eele, and yet if he gett it in his hand, all that he hath gotten is but a wett eele by the tayle'.<sup>47</sup>

These sermon notes and other maxims and aphorisms were zealously recorded by Manningham. The Araignment of Women is full of them, and its aphoristic nature may help to explain its popularity with the 'common sort' of readers, the target group of Swetnam's attack on women.

### 1.3 The Araignment of Women

The Araignment of Women was probably intended by Swetnam as another satirical sally against women. The first edition was published pseudonymously under the name 'Thomas Telltroth'. The persona of Thomas Tell-Troth was a familiar one, and anyone adopting it would wish to assume a self-evident status. John Lane used the persona for his Tom Tel-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint, published in 1600. Lane hopes that his poem, which attacks the seven deadly sins, 'like a tell-troth it may boldly blaze,/ And pensill-like paint forth a just dispraise'.<sup>48</sup> An earlier work, entitled Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift, published in 1593, discusses the state of marriage and the harmful effects of jealousy. The author introduces himself as an honest, plain-speaking and trustworthy man: 'Tell-Troth is my name, and you may trust me if you will,

for I assure you, that he that crediteth me most, shal not speede worst'. Tell-Troth recommends himself to his audience as 'a simple fellow, that marchinge under the habbitte of true meaninge, tells all that he sees, and every thing he thinks to be true'.<sup>49</sup> The pseudonym chosen by Swetnam was probably also intended to give The Araignment of Women the hallmark of truth, and fits in well with his professed moral indignation in the dedicatory epistles.

In the dedicatory epistles, Swetnam makes liberal use of the literary formula of attacks on women. In the first epistle he observes predictably that only the unreclaimed and unreclaimable among women will censure him for his efforts, and that The Araignment of Women is written with a firmly didactic intent. But he also apologizes for the vehemence of his attack to his female audience. In the second epistle he attempts to advertise his attack ('I feare me that I have set down more then they will like of') and refers to an even more vigorous sequel ('I charge them now but with a bulrush, in respect of a second booke, which is almost ready'). The second epistle, addressed to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', makes clear that Swetnam sets himself up as a guide for the young and inexperienced. This was a familiar stance in attacks on women. An early sixteenth-century example, The Payne and Sorowe of Evyll Maryage, warns young unmarried men not to take wives, since 'Who can not appease them lyghtly or anone,/ Shall have care and sorowe all his lyfe'.<sup>50</sup> The Araignment of Women also harps on this theme. Swetnam admonishes young men not to be 'too hasty to marry, for doubt lest thou marry in haste, and repent by leysure' (Flv). He continues:

If thou wert a servant, or in bondage before, yet when thou marriest, thy toyle is never the neerer ended, but even then, and, not before thou changest thy golden life, which thou didst leade before, in respect of the married, for a drop of hony which quickly turneth to bee as bitter as worm-wood; And therefore cut off the occasion, which may any way bring thee into fooles Paradise'. (Flv)

As has already been stated above, these admonitions were not the sole domain of satirical attacks on women and marriage, but were also voiced by serious writers on marriage.<sup>51</sup>

The first chapter promises to demonstrate 'to what use women were made, it also sheweth that most of them degenerate from that they were framed unto, by leading a proud, lazy, and idle life, to the great hinderaunce of their poore husbands' (Bl<sup>r</sup>). In Swetnam's view, no woman is the 'help meet' she was

intended to be, as she only 'helpeth to spend and consume that which man painefully getteth' (B1<sup>r</sup>). The chapter opens with the familiar satirical reference to the crooked rib, and considers all women to be daughters of Eve. An appeal to biblical authority follows: both David and Solomon passed bitter judgements on women. Solomon's wisdom, 'there is nothing more dangerous then a woman in her fury',<sup>52</sup> prompts Swetnam to produce a passage from Marcus Aurelius his Golden Boke: the fury of a woman, once unleashed, cannot be restrained. A series of comparisons follow, in which the inconstancy and fury of women are irrelevantly alternated. Swetnam's habit of mixing odd comparisons, historical anecdotes and proverbs on a variety of subjects pertaining to women is already apparent from the first pages of The Araignment of Women. Historical anecdotes commonly attributed to Diogenes and Socrates, 'whose opinions were so hard of marriage, that they never delighted therein' (B3<sup>r</sup>), precede considerations to beware of marriage, all of which could have been, or were, culled from compendia of wisdom. The general theme of The Araignment of Women, a traditional warning against marriage, is clear, but there is no development: Swetnam employs historical and biblical examples to carry the force of argument, and he introduces them at random:

And was not David the best beloved of God, and a mighty Prince? Yet for the love of women he purchased the displeasure of his God. Sampson was the strongest man that ever was; for every lock of his head was the strength of another man, yet by a woman he was overcome; hee revealed his strength, and payed his life for that folly. Did not Jesabel for her wicked lust cause her husbands blood to be given to dogs?

Jobs wife gave her husband counsell to blaspheme God and to curse him.

Agamemnons wife for a small injury that her husband did her, she first committed adultery, and afterwards consented to his death. (C1<sup>v</sup>)

Most of these biblical and classical examples are incorrect in their application,<sup>53</sup> as Swetnam's opponents were quick to point out, and they do not elaborate on any particular argument, but instead comment generally on the depravity of women.

The similes and proverbs are used to the same degree of inconsistency and irrelevance:

All is not gold that glistereth: a smiling countenance is no certaine testimoniall of a merry heart, nor costly garments of a rich purse: men doe not commend a judge, for that he weareth a skarlet gowne, but for his just dealing; no more are women to be esteemed of by the ornament of their bravery, but for their good behaviour; yet there is no river so

cleere, but there is some durt in the bottome. (C3<sup>r</sup>)

The proverbs and similes in this passage lead up to the conclusion about appearance and substance, but the final proverbial phrase detracts from that conclusion in reverting to the earlier observations on deceptive appearances.

The first chapter closes with a brief account of young men deceived and ruined 'for the love of wantons' (C3<sup>r</sup>), who end their lives on the gallows, 'far contrary from the expectation of their friends and Parents, which had otherwise provided for them, if they had had grace, or would have been ruled' (C3<sup>r</sup>), a nominal return to the target group of The Araignment of Women.

The second chapter announces it will 'expose the manner of such women as live upon evil report: It also sheweth that the beauty of Women hath beene the bane of many a man, for it hath overcome valiant and strong men, eloquent and subtil men. And at a word, it hath overcome all men, as by examples following shall appear' (C3<sup>v</sup>). The chapter begins with the example of Solomon who 'in many places of his booke of Proverbs exclames most bitterly against lewd women, calling them all that naught is' (C3<sup>v</sup>). A discussion of the ingratitude and inconstancy of women follows (C3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>v</sup>). The tone of these pages is on the whole bitter and contrasts with the satirical opening of the first chapter:

if thou hast crownes in thy purse, shee will be thy hearts gold, untill shee leaves thee not a whit of white money: they are like the summer birdes, for they will abide no storme, but flocke about thee in the pride of thy glory, and flye from thee in the storms of affliction, for they aime more at thy wealth, then at thy person, and esteeme more thy money, then any mans vertuous qualities. (C4<sup>v</sup>)

Although Swetnam probably intended to write a satire on women - the two dedicatory epistles are firmly conventional, and the opening lines of the first chapter are traditionally satirical - he failed to produce a sustained satire. The failure is partly due to his reliance on other sources, which are pilfered without respect to consistency of tone or substance. But at times he does not seem to be aware of the incongruity of lapsing into apparent seriousness.<sup>54</sup> After the discussion of ungrateful and inconstant women, Swetnam presents a series of biblical references to whoredom. These allusions, presented in this stark and uncompromising form, are not the province of satire on women:

God detesteth the money or goods gotten by whoredome, Deuteronomy 23.17.18. Whores called by diverse names, and the properties of whores, Proverbs 7.6 and 2. A whore envieth an honest woman, Esdra 16. and 42. Whoremongers God will judge,

Hebrews 13. and 42. They shall have their portions with the wicked in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, Revelation the 21.8.

Onely for the sinne of whoredome God was sorry at the heart, and repented that ever hee made man, Genesis 6.67. (D1<sup>r</sup>)

Satirists of women made ample use of biblical references to support their case, and were often accused by apologists for women of distorting biblical truth. But they usually limited themselves to citing examples of notorious women of the Bible, the Jesabels and Delilahs, or, as Ercole Tasso demonstrates in Of Mariage and Wiving, embedded scriptural sense not necessarily misogynist in an argument against women:

vile and abject [...] are all such things, that have not in themselves, their own proper endes. But such a one is Woman, who was created for man, as witnesseth Saint Paul, and therefore imperfect and vile.<sup>55</sup>

The catalogue of biblical references pertaining to whoredom as they occur on D1<sup>r</sup> of The Araignment of Women is out of place and infuses these pages with a soberness which is alien to the nature of satirical attacks on women. These pages have more affinity with sermons or moralistic treatises on whoredom and repentance. This also applies to the following passage on E1<sup>rv</sup>, which discusses the evils of dissolute living and the futility of repentance:

yet there are many which laies their nets to catch a pretty woman, but he which getteth such a prize, gaines nothing by his adventure, but shame to the body, and danger to the soule; for the heat of the young bloud of these wantons, leads many unto destruction for this worlds pleasure. It chaunts your minds, and infeebleth your bodies with diseases, it also scandalleth your good names, but most of all, it indangereth your soules. (E1<sup>r</sup>)

In these pages, Swetnam leaves the domain of satire, and instead sermonizes on the dangers of infatuation. This sober passage, however, ends with characteristic inconsistency of tone:

Loe thus in remorse of minde my tongue hath uttered to the wantons of the world, the abundance of my hearts grieve, which I have perceived by the unseemely behaviour of unconstant both men and women, yet men for the most part are touched but with one fault, which is drinking too much: but it is said of women, that they have two faults, that is, they can neither say well, nor yet doe well. (E2<sup>v</sup>)

The moraliser speaks in the first part of this passage, which in tone belongs to the preceding discussion of 'unconstant both men and women'. The last part, in particular the proverb on women, belongs to the province of

satire.<sup>56</sup> Immediately after this passage, Swetnam goes on to discuss the cosmetic ritual of women, so that the final satirical observation must have been intended as a transition. Since both the moralistic discussion on E2<sup>r</sup>v and the discussion of women's vanity were probably taken from different sources, and the jocular ending of the moralistic passage is uncharacteristic of the tone of both the preceding and the following passages, it is likely that Swetnam himself added these proverbial considerations on men and women. It is typical for Swetnam that he resorts to proverbs to link two unrelated passages.

The third chapter offers 'a remedy against love, also many reasons not to be too hasty in the choice of a Wife. But if no remedy be, but thou wilt marry, then how to choose a wife, with a commendation of the good, vertuous, and honest Women' (F1<sup>r</sup>). With the addition of the advice and the 'commendation', Swetnam again defeats the purpose of producing a satirical attack on women. Although in the sixteenth century C. Pyrrye wrote The Praise and Dispraise of Women, and provided an unconvincing explanation for the decision to present both attack and defence in one work,<sup>57</sup> and although several detractors of women turned defenders with equal ease,<sup>58</sup> the 'commendation' in The Araignment of Women belongs to the genre of the marriage treatises rather than that of the formal defence of women. As J.L. Lievsay has demonstrated, a considerable part of the 'commendation' is derived from Book Three of The Courte of Civile Conversation, while Swetnam also used, to a lesser extent, passages from The Foreste.<sup>59</sup> Book Three of The Civile Conversation is concerned with the relationships between men and women and presents a serious and positive discussion of marriage. Chapter 4 of Book Two of The Foreste, from which Swetnam borrowed most of the anecdotes on G4<sup>r</sup>-H1<sup>v</sup>, presents histories relating to 'the cordiall love, that should be in marriage, with divers examples servyng to that purpose' (P4<sup>r</sup>). However much they present a positive view of women, these books do not qualify as formal defences. The Civile Conversation is a courtesy book, and The Foreste a compilation of histories on various subjects produced for the edification of the reader. Swetnam did not mean to present a formal defence of women, as C. Pyrrye had done before him. The third chapter, which promises the reader advice on 'how to choose a good wife', is more indebted to the genre of marriage treatises and wedding sermons. The following admonition, again larded with proverbial phrases:

Therefore yet once more I advise thee in the choyce of thy wife, to have a speciall regard to her qualities and



conditions before thou shake hands or jumpe a match with her: Also inquire and marke the life and conversation of her Parents, let the old Proverbe put thee in mind hereof, that an evill Bird layeth an ill Egge, the Cat will after her kind, an ill Tree cannot bring foorth good fruit [...] and it is a verie rare matter to see children tread out of the pathes of their Parents. (G2<sup>v</sup>)

finds a more concise echo in Henry Smith's Preparative to Marriage:

marke five things (in choice of a Wife): the report, the lookes, the speech, the apparell, and the companions.<sup>60</sup>

Swetnam may not have intended initially to add a commendation of women, since he starts his third chapter with remedies for love ('first, and above all, shun idlenes; for idlenes is the beginner and maintainer of love', F1<sup>v</sup>), and begins on F3<sup>v</sup> with his advice for prospective husbands which is followed by the 'commendation', but on I1<sup>v</sup> he returns to the remedies for love without introduction or transition: 'Now if thou like not my remedies to expell love, thou mayest trie Ovids art, who prescribes a salve for such a sore'. This continuation of the remedies would have been more in place on F3<sup>v</sup>, where he offers the following advice:

If a woman be never so comely, thinke her a counterfet; if never so straight, thinke her crooked; if she be well set, call her a bosse; if slender, a hazell twig; if browne, thinke her as blacke as a Crow; if well coloured, a painted wall; if sad, or shame-fac'd, then thinke her a clowne; if merry and pleasant, then she is the liker to be a wanton.<sup>61</sup>

Although there are passages in the second and third chapter of The Araignment of Women which are on an uneasy footing with the demonstrable intention of writing a satirical attack on women, the coda to Swetnam's attack, entitled 'The Bearebayting, or the vanity of widdowes: choose you whether' (I2<sup>r</sup>), belongs firmly to the satirical camp. Widows were a traditional butt for satirists of women,<sup>62</sup> and they also feature in Swetnam's attack on women. The 'Bearebayting of widdowes' begins with an apparent reference to social prejudice:

Woe be to that unfortunate man that matcheth himselfe unto a widdow; for a widdow will be the cause of a thousand woes: yet there are many that doe wish themselves no worse matched then to a rich widdow (I2<sup>r</sup>).<sup>63</sup>

But Swetnam soon lapses into the reproduction of jests on women, most of which occur on I3<sup>v</sup>-I4<sup>r</sup>. The familiar jests are repeated with widows as the targets of the jokes. The jests are preceded by an account of married life with a widow, most of which can be found in An Heptameron of Civill

Discourses.<sup>64</sup> The last page of The Araignment of Women, which depends heavily on Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit,<sup>65</sup> draws to a conclusion with a final statement of Swetnam's satirical purpose:

And so praying those which have already made their choyse and seene the troubles, and felt the torments that are with women, to take it merrily, and to esteeme of this booke onely as the toyes of an idle head (I4V).<sup>66</sup>

#### 1.4 Conclusion

The Araignment of Women can be placed in the context of the formal controversy on women, and as such it does not raise any serious issues concerning the status of women. It relies on assumptions about the nature of women which were the staple fare of attacks on women. That its author was not serious can be inferred from the final address to his male audience. He would have married men, who have 'seene the troubles, and felt the torments that are with women, to take it merrily, and to esteeme of this booke onely as the toyes of an idle head'(I4V).

If the formal controversy is not a 'popular' genre, as Woodbridge claims, and hence the existence of The Araignment of Women presupposes a fairly educated author, then the question of Joseph Swetnam's social status presents itself. Several of the sources of The Araignment of Women are indeed not 'popular' but were aimed at what L.B. Wright terms the 'middle-class' audience. Yet in the case of one source at least Swetnam's borrowing betrays his lack of formal education. His opponents were quick to use his real or supposed ignorance as an angle for attack; although this is not unusual in itself, in Swetnam's case their charges were well-founded.

Swetnam's opponents all claim that his book was popular with the 'vulgar ignorant', as Rachel Speght calls them. The Araignment of Women was intended for the popular market, whereas the opponents address themselves to a different audience, and also reveal in their responses that they were better educated than the author they attacked. Thus, if The Araignment of Women and the responses it provoked are exponents of the formal controversy, it was not a battle between equals - as had been the case in Of Marriage and Wiving, written by Torquato and Ercole Tasso, or, even more clearly, The Praise and Dispraise of Women, written by C. Pyrrye. In the following two chapters Joseph Swetnam and his The Araignment of Women and the three responses will be discussed in this light.

## Chapter 2

### Joseph Swetnam and The Araignment of Women

#### 2.1.1 Joseph Swetnam

The surname Swetnam is the vulgarized form of the family name of Swettenham, a name originally derived from the placename of Swettenham, now in Cheshire. Joseph Swetnam himself does not appear to have been directly related to the pedigreed Swettenhams.<sup>1</sup> The details concerning his life are very few, but they seem to indicate that he was a West Country man. He had a legitimate daughter, so that he must have been married at one point. In one of the two known documents concerning Joseph Swetnam, a letter of administration which was drawn up after his daughter's death in 1626, he is referred to as 'nuper de civit[ate] Bristoll'. The only other certain fact about Joseph Swetnam himself is the rough time of his death, around October 1621. The letter of administration which was drawn up after news of his death had reached England records that Swetnam had died abroad. The standard formula reads: 'nuper in p[ar]tibus transmarinis decedentis',<sup>2</sup> but no specific information about the place of death is given. This letter also mentions his daughter, Elizabeth Merricke, described as 'filiae naturali et l[egi]timae Josephi Swetnam', as the administrator of the estate. Swetnam left his daughter £21. No other relatives are mentioned in the administration.<sup>3</sup>

Elizabeth Swetnam married a Rice Merricke on 4 November 1613 in the Church of St. Augustine the Less at Bristol.<sup>4</sup> She is described in the church register as 'Elsabeth Swettnam mayden'. This would therefore have been her first marriage. If her age at first marriage was between twenty and twenty-five, which seems to have been the average age category for first marriages for women,<sup>5</sup> she was born in the early 1590s. Neither her age nor that of her husband is given in the transcribed entry of the church register, nor is it stated that she married with the consent of one or both of her parents. The entry only mentions the date of the marriage, the names and Elizabeth Swetnam's status. Although the existence of a legitimate daughter means that Swetnam was married at one point, there is no trace of his marriage.<sup>6</sup> The only indication of his age at the time of the publication of The Araignment of Women is a not very reliable statement in the first dedicatory epistle, that he had been a traveller 'this thirty & odde yeeres' (A2<sup>r</sup>). If Swetnam started travelling at the age of fifteen to twenty, he was probably around

the age of fifty when The Araignment of Women came out. This would approximately date his birth to the years 1565 to 1570.

Joseph Swetnam's daughter Elizabeth Merricke died in July 1626. The letter of administration which registers her death gives additional information about her father.<sup>7</sup> This time the administrator of the estate is Francis Doughty senior, of the parish of Hempstead in Gloucestershire. He is described as one of the creditors of Joseph Swetnam.<sup>8</sup> The other creditors remain unnamed, and since Francis Doughty is the administrator, it may be assumed he was Swetnam's main creditor. No further link between Francis Doughty and Joseph Swetnam has as yet been established,<sup>9</sup> but the fact that Swetnam had creditors at the time of his death suggests that his financial condition was poor. The fact that he died intestate may serve as another general indication of his financial situation.<sup>10</sup>

That Joseph Swetnam died in a foreign country may imply that he served as a soldier in the wars abroad, either in Ireland or on the Continent. The wars in the Netherlands and Germany attracted increasing numbers of soldiers in the early 1620s,<sup>11</sup> and some of Swetnam's remarks in his fencing manual The Schoole of the Noble and Worthy Science of Defence, which came out in 1617, hint at his having seen active service. In this sense the meagre facts of Swetnam's life are corroborated by what can be learnt about him from The Schoole of Defence. In the latter fencing manual Swetnam presents himself as a 'Master of Defence', and occasionally he indicates that he has led a 'martial' life. In order to try and add a few individual strokes to the bare outline of Joseph Swetnam's life, The Schoole of Defence will be discussed in the following sections.

### 2.1.2 The Schoole of the Noble and Worthy Science of Defence

Joseph Swetnam, the rather hapless author of The Araignment of Women, produced another book, which came out in 1617, two years after the publication of The Araignment of Women. Although he promised in the second epistle of The Araignment of Women to produce a sequel: 'And so praying thee to looke to thy footing, that thou run not over thy shooes, and so be past recovery before my second booke come' (A4<sup>v</sup>) - a rather standard promise in itself - the book that was published in 1617 was not another attack on women, but a fencing manual.<sup>12</sup> Unlike in his earlier pseudonymous The Araignment of Women, Swetnam's name now appears in full on the title-page.

The book does not seem to have been entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company, and only the name of the printer, Nicholas Okes, appears in the imprint.<sup>13</sup> Neither is there a sales address given in the imprint. But The Schoole of Defence occurs in Jaggard's 1618 catalogue of English books,<sup>14</sup> showing that it was nevertheless known in the book trade at the time of publication.

The Schoole of Defence advertises itself on the title-page as 'the first of any English mans invention, which professed the sayd Science'. This is a first indication that Joseph Swetnam was a professional fencing master. Swetnam's third dedicatory epistle is addressed to 'all Professors of the Noble and worthie Art of Defence', whom he greets as his 'brethren'. The appellation 'Master of the Noble Science of Defence' appears to have been a common title for established fencing masters.<sup>15</sup> Fencing masters were granted Letters Patent as early as 1540 by Henry VIII, probably partly in an attempt to regulate the profession or 'mystery' of defence.<sup>16</sup> The 'Art Gladiatory, or Science of Defence' is described in the Appendix to the 1615 edition of Stow's Annals<sup>17</sup> in connection with the London fencing schools. The description provided in Stow's Annals about the training of a master of defence makes clear that anyone professing that title had to give evidence of his proficiency in public trials at several stages of his career before proceeding to the degree of master of defence.<sup>18</sup> A complete history of the English Masters of Defence is not available,<sup>19</sup> but the Letters Patent granted by Henry VIII lapsed on his death, and the London society seems to have lost much of its impetus in the last decades of the sixteenth century, although it was revived by a grant of James I in 1605.<sup>20</sup>

Fencing masters were not held in high esteem generally. They were included in the Vagrancy Act of 14 Elizabeth, cap. 5, an indication of their uncertain professional and social status. Neither did the English fencing master occupy the lofty position of the French and Italian masters of defence.<sup>21</sup> The Private Schoole of Defence, which came out in 1614 and was written by George Hale,<sup>22</sup> who is described on the title-page as a 'gentleman', perhaps partly in an attempt to be dissociated from the common rabble of fencers and fencing masters, provides a few slighting comments on the average fencing master. In his dedicatory epistle, Hale protests that he is the first Englishman to bring method to the science of defence, because 'The Professors thereof [are] so ignorant, that they could rather doe, then make demonstration, or reduce their doing to any certaintie or principle' (A3<sup>v</sup>-

A4<sup>r</sup>). Hale speaks of the Art of Defence as 'an Art geometricall' (B2<sup>v</sup>). He refers to the work of Giacomo di Grassi (B5<sup>v</sup>), and generally deplors the inferiority of English fencing schools. He may be expressing a gentleman's scorn for the uneducated fencing master and his school, because he claims elsewhere: 'I was taught more in a weeke by an understanding Artist, then I could learne in seven yeares practice in publique Schools' (C2<sup>r</sup>). The title-page of The Private Schoole of Defence promises to expose 'The Defects of Publique Teachers'. Hale nevertheless extends an apology to those fencing masters who are 'both knowing and able, who detest our commonly applauded, rude, and buffeting play' (C7<sup>v</sup>).

Against the 'rude and buffeting play' of the English fencing masters a number of Italian masters of defence opposed their own methods of fencing in the 1590s, introducing the weapons of rapier and dagger. A trio of Italian fencing masters, of whom Vincentio Saviolo, patronized by the Earl of Essex, published Vincentio Saviolo his Practice in 1595, roused the professional jealousy of the English masters of defence and other practitioners of fencing, particularly George Silver, who tried to challenge the Italians to a public trial of strength. To achieve this end, George Silver and his brother Tobey put placards all over London, Westminster and Southwark, publicizing their intended trial, but the Italians failed to respond.<sup>23</sup> George Silver then brought out his Paradoxes of Defence (1599), to maintain that the old English manner of fighting with the short sword and dagger was to be preferred to the new weapons of rapier and dagger, then already generally accepted as superior to the traditional English weapons. Joseph Swetnam gives his verdict on George Silver's laudable efforts in 1617: 'although that George Giller [sic] hath most highly com[m]ended the short sword & dagger, [F1<sup>r</sup>] yet [...] without all doubt there is a great deale more danger then at Rapier and Dagger' (Cc2<sup>r</sup>).

The 'rude, and buffeting play' was not only a characteristic of the common run of fencing masters. Fencing had attracted a particular odium as the only means of expression of drunken and unmanageable sots. There are many allusions to these swashbucklers in contemporary literature. The drinking, swearing and swaggering coward was a well-known figure on the stage, and he had also become a 'Character'. Samuel Rowlands presents such a Captain Bobadil in a dramatic monologue in 1600:

Hang him base gull; Ile stabbe him by the Lord,  
If he presume to speake but halfe a word:  
Ile paunch the villaine with my Rapiers poynt,

or heaw him with my Faunchion joynt by joynt,  
Through both his cheeks my Poniard he shall have  
Or Mince-pie like Ile mangle out the slave.  
Aske who I am, you whorson-trite gowne patch?  
Call me before the Constable or Watch?  
Cannot a Captaine walke the Queenes high-way?

[...]

You drunken peslants [sic], run's your tongs on wheeles?  
Long you to see your guttes about your heeles?  
Doest love me Tym? let go my Rapier then,  
Perswade me not from killing, nine or ten.<sup>24</sup>

Joseph Swetnam's portrayal as the cowardly fencer in Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women fitted the popular literary image of the swashbuckler as much as it provided an opportunity for the playwright(s) to make havoc of Swetnam's reputation in the play.

George Hale, and also Joseph Swetnam, dwell on the unfavourable esteem in which the art of fencing is held. Hale complains that 'Many are the imputations laid upon this Art, [...] the chiefe whereof is, the increasing our bloody and irreligious Duels' (A4<sup>r</sup>). Both stress the profitability of skill in fencing for the commonwealth: men should be able to defend both themselves and their country when the occasion requires it. Their apologies for the art of defence came at a time when James I issued a number of proclamations against private duels, whether fought with pistols or rapiers.<sup>25</sup> But fencing was already associated with violence long before the royal proclamations attempted to curb the excesses of private combat.

Although Joseph Swetnam claims that The Schoole of Defence is 'the first of any English mans invention, which professed the sayd Science', it is not the first fencing manual published in England. In the twenty-five years before The Schoole of Defence a number of works appeared, among which are Giacomo di Grassi's Di Grassi his Art of Defence (1594), Vincentio Saviolo's Vincentio Saviolo his Practice (1595), and George Silver's Paradoxes of Defence (1599).<sup>26</sup> It has been suggested that The Schoole of Defence bears great resemblance to Vincentio Saviolo his Practice as far as the instructions on fencing are concerned. And of course Swetnam not only read, but also made use of some of the eulogies on fencing in George Silver's Paradoxes of Defence.<sup>27</sup> The fact that Swetnam demonstrably used a passage from Paradoxes of Defence perhaps makes it rather precarious to rely on the authenticity of the first ten chapters of The Schoole of Defence, but it is nevertheless assumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary,<sup>28</sup> and after an examination of the proverbialism characteristic of both The Araignment of

Women and The Schoole of Defence, that the first ten chapters of the fencing manual, are authentic, and thus form a source of vicarious information about Swetnam.

A comparison of the proverbialism of The Araignment of Women and The Schoole of Defence establishes that both works were written by one and the same author.<sup>29</sup> The simile, 'like as the fiddlers doe their strings, who wrest and temper them so long, untill they bring them out of all time, tune, and reason' (A4<sup>r</sup>), which Swetnam employs to explain why he did not invest great effort in trying to polish his style of writing, also occurs, but in a different context, on D2<sup>r</sup> of The Araignment of Women. Likewise, he expresses his confidence in the aptness of his fencing manual by means of a proverbial saying, used in the same context in The Araignment of Women: 'I am sure I have shot so neere the marke that some will account me for a good Archer' (B4<sup>r</sup>; A4<sup>r</sup>). Alexander the Great's lament over the loss of his wife, which occurs on H1<sup>r</sup> of The Araignment of Women, is used in The Schoole of Defence to lament the death of Prince Henry, James I's eldest son, who died in the autumn of 1612: 'Death were kind if he tooke none, but those which offended, but oh most unkind death, for thou in taking away that good yong Prince, hast taken away him which never offended' (B4<sup>r</sup>).

Swetnam refrains from drawing a picture of the late Prince Henry: 'the which I cannot doe, and therefore I will not wade so far in so dangerous a river, but that I may easily escape out' (B4<sup>v</sup>); this proverb is also to be found on A3<sup>r</sup> of The Araignment of Women. A phrase culled from Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, 'now I have unfolded every place, and shewed every wrinkle of these few weapons' (C2<sup>r</sup>) is also used in the first dedicatory epistle of The Araignment of Women (A3<sup>r</sup>), this time to promise an exposure of the true nature of women. A complimentary passage, made up of two parts, towards the end of the 'Epistle to the Reader' in The Schoole of Defence (C2<sup>r</sup>) occurs, in reverse order, in the second dedicatory epistle of The Araignment of Women (A4<sup>v</sup>):

and so I will hinder thee no longer from that which ensueth,  
and therefore ending my Epistle with these words of the  
Frier, who often in his Sermon said the best is behind, so he  
that readeth but the beginning of a booke, can give no  
judgement of that which ensueth, then read it over, and thou  
shalt not be deluded, with [sic] the best is behind.

I hope I may call this booke a booke without any offence,  
for the collier he calleth his horse a horse, and the Spanish  
Jennet is but a horse.



Swetnam's parting formula at the end of his dedicatory epistle, 'I leave you to him whose seate is in heaven, and whose foot-stoole is the earth' (C2<sup>V</sup>) also occurs at the end of the first epistle of The Araignment of Women (A3<sup>V</sup>).

Swetnam appeals to his colleagues, the 'Professors of the Noble and Worthie Art of Defence', to 'consider and remember [...] we are not borne for our selves, but for our Countrie: and if we doe no good, though wee doe no harme, then better it were that wee had never beene borne [...] and therefore better an addle Egge then an ill Bird', an exhortation which also occurs in The Araignment of Women (E1<sup>V</sup>).

Swetnam's fondness of proverbs and proverbial sayings, with which The Araignment of Women is studded, is thus also obvious in The Schoole of Defence. He advises his audience that it is 'better to pocket up an injury at sometimes' (E1<sup>R</sup>), a proverb also employed by him in his first epistle to 'the common sort of women' (A2<sup>R</sup>). On the irascible temperament of some men he has this to say: 'some are never well full nor fasting' (F2<sup>R</sup>), a proverb which he also used in The Araignment of Women, but here he had been commenting on the 'franticke trickes' of widows (I2<sup>V</sup>). Whereas in The Schoole of Defence a murderer's conscience will sound 'in his eares such a peale, that hee may thinke that the divell is come from hell' (G3<sup>V</sup>), in The Araignment of Women it is a widow's 'cruell tongue' which has the same effect. Both murderers and husbands of widows will lead a sorry life, Swetnam warns: 'Loe, this is a life, but it is as wearisome as hell' (G4<sup>R</sup>; I3<sup>V</sup>).

He discusses the vice of drunkenness in both works in an identical passage:

if a man had twenty good qualities & yet if he be a drunkard, that one ill quality overthroweth all the rest, like as when a Cow giveth a good sope of milke, and then afterwards striketh it down with her foote: she is as much to bee blamed for the losse, as commended for the gift. (H2<sup>V</sup>; F3<sup>R</sup>)

His colloquial assertion, that when two hotheads meet, 'then a thousand to one but murther is committed' (H2<sup>V</sup>), occurs in The Araignment of Women to point out the likelihood that a vain woman will be unfaithful, although here the odds are not as high (C4<sup>R</sup>). His emphatic 'again, and again, I say' (H4<sup>R</sup> and I1<sup>R</sup>), used to stress a point, occurs in The Araignment of Women with equal force.

When discussing the fickleness of young gallants, he imagines them 'saying as the Porters of Bristow, a new Maister, a new, and hang up the old' (K3<sup>V</sup>); in The Araignment of Women the porters are 'knavish' and are, of course,

compared to women (E3<sup>V</sup>). In both The Araignment of Women and The Schoole of Defence Swetnam pictures an audience unresponsive to his arguments: 'many will say it is true, yet they cannot beware of the divell, until they are plagued with his damme' (L2<sup>V</sup>; C1<sup>R</sup>). A rhetorical passage designed to encourage men not to be too fearful in accepting a just quarrel in The Schoole of Defence (N2<sup>V</sup>) is used in The Araignment of Women to persuade men not to be too fearful to enter the state of marriage: 'why shall wee feare to goe to our beddes, because some die in their beddes; some die at Sea, and therefore shall we feare to crosse the Sea [...]?'. The proverbial saying, 'There is no due commendations to bee given of a Judge, by his skarlet gowne' (N3<sup>R</sup>), which occurs in The Schoole of Defence amidst a welter of proverbial wisdom to prove that appearances are deceptive, is also used in The Araignment of Women to warn men that women should be judged only by 'their good behaviour' (C3<sup>R</sup>). Another piece of advice is likewise couched in proverbial phrases: 'keepe two strings to thy bowe, it is safe riding at two anchors a head, but if a man were put to an extremitie, then it were better to have halfe a loafe then no bread, better to defend it single, then to take it on the skinne' (S1<sup>V</sup>). A similar passage in The Araignment of Women, revolving entirely around proverbial wisdom, begins with the first two proverbs, and ends with others (F3<sup>V</sup>).

Swetnam's discourse on the properties of a woman's tongue (G1<sup>R</sup>) is also found in The Schoole of Defence (Dd1<sup>V</sup>) in a passage designed to persuade men to 'speak fair to all':

although it be but a little thing and seldome seene, yet it is often heard to the utter confusion of manie a man, for the tongue is such a weapon without it bee governed, it will cut worse then a nettle.

The cluster of proverbs used in connection with the avarice and unscrupulousness of women (E2<sup>V</sup>) is used in The Schoole of Defence to condemn the avarice of men who want to obtain riches 'by hooke or by crooke, some out of Judas bag, and some out of the divels budget' (Ff1<sup>R</sup>).

The greater part of the analogous phrases and passages in The Araignment of Women and The Schoole of Defence are thus proverbial in nature.<sup>30</sup> Another stylistic feature of both works is their colloquialism. The assertive 'then a thousand to one' and the emphatic 'again, and again, I say' have already been noted. Other examples are the phrase 'and so to our former matter againe' (I3<sup>R</sup>; F3<sup>V</sup>) after an anecdotal digression; the exclamation, after having tendered advice: 'And what of all this? Nothing, but to shew, that it

is better to learne late then never' (I1<sup>r</sup>), which in The Araignment of Women serves a similar purpose. Or, preceding a relevant anecdote or example: 'And to match with this I will tell you' (I2<sup>v</sup>; D2<sup>r</sup>).

The stylistic parallels between The Araignment of Women and The Schoole of Defence, i.e. their proverbialism and colloquialism, positively suggest that they were written by one and the same author. At the same time the proverbialism and colloquialism would seem to mark the author as a not highly educated man. That a home-spun author like Swetnam was nevertheless aware of the the exigencies of a polished style for some occasions is made clear by the following eulogy on the late Prince Henry:

death untimely tooke him away to my grieve and many more, for all the whole kingdome was nothing but mourning. Death were kind if he tooke none, but those which offended, but oh most unkind death, for thou in taking away that good yong Prince, hast taken away him which never offended, for there was never the like seene in one so yong, for his wisedome, learning, and kinde curtesie, to all which came to see his Princely selfe, talking so mildly and familiarly to every one which did so rejoyce and glad the hearts of all true and loving subjects, and also caused him in his fame to be spoken of, for Kings and Princes are talked of at poore mens tables, and good words he deserved, as ever any earthly creature did.  
(B4<sup>r</sup>)

The alteration of styles in this passage makes it easy to see which are Swetnam's own words, and which are borrowed. Swetnam based the first part of the second sentence on Alexander's mournful speech for the death of his wife, which he had used in The Araignment of Women in its original context,<sup>31</sup> and transferred its subject to 'that good yong Prince'. Its formal quality contrasts with the homely assertion: 'Kings and princes are talked of at poore mens tables', which would seem to suggest that Swetnam placed himself among the rank and file of the population.<sup>32</sup> There is also the colloquial conclusion: 'and good words he deserved, as ever any earthly creature did'. Swetnam borrowed Alexander's speech in recognition of the occasion, but continues in his own colloquial manner. Further on he decides not to pursue his attempt at eulogizing, being 'not able to discharge it according unto the dignity and worthinesse thereof, the which I cannot doe, and therefore I will not wade so far in so dangerous a river, but that I may easily escape out'. It is characteristic that Swetnam again resorts to a proverbial phrase to explain the predicament of the willing but incompetent eulogist.

### 2.1.3 The Schoole of Defence: some biographical speculations

The claim which is put forward on the title-page of The Schoole of Defence, that the fencing manual is 'the first of any English mans invention, which professed the sayd science',<sup>33</sup> is repeated on a number of occasions in the text. In his dedicatory epistle to the 'common reader', Swetnam predictably claims he was 'pricked forward by the earnest request of some of my friends, to describe the rule of weapons, which I by my study have invented, and by practice brought to perfection' (A2<sup>v</sup>). Further on he persuades himself that his instructions must be profitable because otherwise his friends 'would never have beene so important [importunate] with me to put my directions in writing, and when it was in writing so many desired Copies, that amongst so many friends I knew not which to please first' (A4<sup>r</sup>).<sup>34</sup> That as a master of defence he felt himself a cut above the common run of fencers is evident from the following passage:

Then hee is not worthie to be called a Maister of Defence, which cannot defend himselfe at all weapons, especiallie against everie ordinarie man not professing the Art of Defence [...] for hee that cannot tell when to spare, and when to strike; and hee which cannot defend himselfe, cannot teach others to defend themselves, nor is hee worthy to be called a Maister of Defence, but he that can doe it is worthie of that title; therefore greatly wronged of them which call such a one a Fencer; for the difference betwixt a Maister of Defence, and a Fencer, is as much as betweene a Musitian and a Fidler, or betwixt a Merchant and a Pedler. (D2<sup>r</sup>)

Swetnam's address to his fellow masters of defence breathes the awareness that fencing masters have or ought to have an exemplary function:

you are men, not onely noted and talked of, but often looked on and more pointed at, then any ordinary men are, of what profession so ever. Also it is the worlds wonder, to see a man of civill governement using this profession, therefore I pray you consider with me a little, that we are as a Beacon set on a hill. (C3<sup>r</sup>)

The exhortation does not only serve to infuse professional pride into his colleagues, but also acts as a preliminary to the consideration that as a fencer's life is more exposed to danger than that of ordinary men, it is necessary to live virtuously:

for many of this profession doe not live out halfe their daies, for there are many waies to bring a man to his end, some by quarreling when they have no cause, and so are stabbed sodainely, and some by drunkennesse, as you shall

heare anone. (C3<sup>v</sup>)

Swetnam continues with a list of fencing masters who died violent deaths in order to warn his professional fellows: 'I wrote it but onely to put you in minde, that you may so leade your lives daily and hourelly, as if Death were even at your heeles' (C4<sup>r</sup>).<sup>35</sup>

The anger against foreign masters of defence, which moved George Silver to publish his Paradoxes of Defence in 1599, is absent from The Schoole of Defence, although there may be a lingering trace of the conflict in this passage:

he that knoweth many guards, and the true skill at weapons may be the better able to answere any stowt bragging forreiner or stranger when they come with their challenges into our country, let them be of what nation soever, and at what weapons they will, and upon what termes they dare, as hitherto they have beene sufficiently answered during my time, by Maister Mathews, Maister Turner, Maister Bradshaw, and Maister Yates; for these chiefly stooode to stake against all commers, and yet I cannot chuse but remember Maister Church, and Maister Brentley, who of this latter time have deserved to be well reported of. (D1<sup>r</sup>)<sup>36</sup>

The scattered remarks throughout The Schoole of Defence which concern Swetnam personally usually relate to his experience of war and single combat. In a digression on a soldier's fortune, Swetnam muses that the wars may seem profitable, and yet 'I have knowne many get both goods and money by the warres, but have made no other reckoning, but as one should say, lightly come lightly goe' (O3<sup>v</sup>). Earlier on a marginal note admonishes the reader: 'The warres are not like throwing of snowe balles: farre deceived are they that so thinke' (O3<sup>r</sup>). Near the end of his fencing manual, Swetnam furnishes a few practical tips for the aspiring fencer, amongst which 'An easie way to weapon thy selfe in time of need'. He recommends the use of a cudgel in the absence of a rapier, and concludes, in evidence: 'this weapon I have made good prooffe of, but it was in another Country, where I could get no other weapon to my minde' (Dd4<sup>v</sup>-Ee1<sup>r</sup>).

In the author's 'farewell to Plymouth', Swetnam reveals further experience of war. He addresses the city of Plymouth and admonishes it to 'plucke up thy heart, and let it not grieve thee to see a King content with his kingdome' (Ee4<sup>v</sup>). James's peace policy with regard to Spain, quickly resulting in the proclamation of peace in August 1604,<sup>37</sup> was detrimental to the prosperity of a town like Plymouth, which had flourished as a result of the war activities in the 1580s and 1590s. Swetnam recalls the times of war with Spain, when

'twentie thousand strangers have had upon a suddaine good and sufficient lodging, and other necessaries' (Ee4<sup>r</sup>). The occasion referred to may be the eve of the battle of Cadiz, when in June of 1596 Plymouth was the chief debarkation port for the English fleet, or the time when rumours about a second Armada circulated, and Plymouth was fortified as a result in the years 1597-99.<sup>38</sup> Whether Swetnam was a native of Plymouth is not certain,<sup>39</sup> but he seems to have been grateful for his connection with the town. He remembers that many of the 'Gallants' who swarmed Plymouth when the city prospered in the time of war 'went away without bidding thee farewell; yet I will, as it were, bite thee by the finger, because thou shalt remember mee' (Ee4<sup>v</sup>).

Although Swetnam does not provide any precise information about his fencing career,<sup>40</sup> he appears to have had sufficient talents and connections to have been introduced to Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I. Swetnam dedicated his Schoole of Defence to Prince Charles,<sup>41</sup> and reminds the young prince straightaway that 'the many great and kinde favours which I received from the hands of your late Brother deceased, unto whom I was tutor in the skill of weapons' (A2<sup>r</sup>), makes him now turn to Charles in the hope of employment.<sup>42</sup> In this he was not unlike other former dependants of Prince Henry who hoped to find a place in his brother's household. Swetnam adds in his Epistle to the Reader that 'this good Prince had the perusing of this book and earnestly perswaded me to print it, but I had not leisure to finish it before death untimely tooke him away to my grieffe and many more, for all the whole Kingdome was nothing but mourning' (C4<sup>v</sup>). Although Henry's alleged favourable reception of the manuscript is an implicit recommendation of The Schoole of Defence and may have been included for that reason, Swetnam's claim could be true. Prince Henry was an enthusiastic and noted practitioner of martial arts<sup>43</sup> and 'delighted to converse with men of skill and experience in war'.<sup>44</sup> There are, however, no records of Swetnam's employment in the service of Prince Henry,<sup>45</sup> so that Swetnam's claim about his tutorial services to the Prince may have been exaggerated. But it may perhaps be assumed that there is some truth in Swetnam's claim, since he could not have published a statement about his familiar acquaintance with a royal personage if it had only been an empty boast. It is likely that there was some connection, however slight, with Prince Henry.

If Henry did 'peruse' Swetnam's written instructions, as Swetnam claims he did, part of the book was written before November 1612, when Henry died. The references to contemporary persons in The Schoole of Defence, as far as they

can be traced, all date to the 1590s, occasionally to the first decade of the seventeenth century. In his chapter of 'Fearefull examples of murther, with advise to avoid murther' (a marginal note here reads: 'In no case commit not murther'), Swetnam mentions a few examples of West Country murders and murderers. Sir John Fitz killed a friend of his, Nicholas Slanning, near Tavistock in 1600, over a matter of hurt pride. Fitz later committed suicide in 1605.<sup>46</sup> Swetnam comments on Fitz as if he had known him: 'yet thus much I can say of Sir John Fitz he was a proper man, and for the space of thirty yeeres he lived orderly, to the gesse [esteem] of the world, for he was well beloved in his country, and if he had so continued to the end, it had been well'. Swetnam ends his reflections on Sir John Fitz in his own philosophical fashion: 'but what should I say, a man may be an honest man thirty yeeres, yea forty yeeres, and yet be a knave at the last' (G2<sup>r</sup>).

Another example which Swetnam puts forward is that of Sir John Gilbert, who killed Sir John Burgh, brother of Thomas, fifth Lord Burgh, in a duel after the latter had challenged him, in 1594.<sup>47</sup> About Sir John Gilbert Swetnam adds that 'the world saith it was an honourable quarrell, and yet in the night his friends reported, that he would sodainely start out of his bed, being sore affrighted, he knew not at what'.<sup>48</sup>

Perhaps the most famous murder related in The Schoole of Defence (this time in the chapter on 'The Trickes of a Coward') is that of Lord John Bourgh, Baron of Castle Connell in Ireland, who was killed by one of his captains, Arnold Cosby, in a duel in 1591. Cosby's 'murthering hands by a cousening device bereaved the Lord of Burke of his life', (N4<sup>r</sup>) and he was hanged for it. This murder produced a spate of news pamphlets.<sup>49</sup> Swetnam again pretends to have known Lord Bourgh: 'Now to my owne knowledge, my Lord Burke was very skillful in his weapons, and sufficient to have answered any man beeing equally weponed' (N4<sup>r</sup>).<sup>50</sup> Swetnam ends his list of murders with murders committed in secret, but yet discovered afterwards. Accounts of these murders may have appeared in print before.<sup>51</sup>

Two of the traceable examples which Swetnam puts forward date to the 1590s. The other example dates to 1600, its aftermath to 1605. If Swetnam wrote this part of The Schoole of Defence in the 1610s, it is remarkable that he should offer such bygone examples. Together with his prose style, which in its emphasis on proverbial wisdom is also rather dated (see 2.2.2), it would seem to suggest that Swetnam was a rather backward looking man. At any rate all the examples he provides are taken from Devonshire, perhaps another

indication that he had lived part of his life in the West Country.

Although fencing was considered to be a gentlemanly skill, The Schoole of Defence is not exclusively aimed at the gentry. Swetnam would have all men practise the art of fencing either for their own personal defence or that of the realm. Moreover, honour is to be gained by all classes through the practice of the art of defence. The Italian masters of defence had held that only gentlemen were entitled to bear arms. Swetnam states explicitly that the art of defence is not only reserved for the gentry:

Now some will say that skill in weapons is good most chiefly for gentlemen, but I say it should be in all men, for I have known and seene many poore mens sonnes come to great honour and credit, and chiefly it was because they had skill in weapons, wherefore in my mind it is the most excellent quality of all for both high and low, rich and poore. (Ol<sup>v</sup>)

The device of the dialogue between master and pupil, which can be found in Vincentio Saviolo his Practise, and which Swetnam may have borrowed from this source, although he uses it imperfectly in The Schoole of Defence,<sup>52</sup> also indicates that Swetnam aimed at the class below the gentry. The master and pupil in Vincentio Saviolo his Practise are presented to the reader as gentlemen, but the scholar in The Schoole of Defence introduces himself as a yeoman's son, who has squandered his father's patrimony and who is anxious to learn the art of defence. The master advises him to choose one of three occupations to secure a living: that of craftsman, professional soldier or servant, all three non-gentlemanly occupations. The master recommends them all, but points out that a trade or craft will provide the surest source of income.<sup>53</sup>

It would seem that Swetnam himself also came from the class below that of the gentry. On several occasions in The Schoole of Defence he admits that he has received little or no formal education. These observations are usually made in an apologetic tone,<sup>54</sup> which is not unusual in itself. However, in his Epistle to the Reader he appears to be more confident that his audience will not take his lack of formal education amiss. He presents himself as the practical man: 'what doe I meane to talke of orders, which am no Scholler, nor have no learning; but only a little experience, which God and nature bestowed upon me' (A4<sup>r</sup>). In the following passage, jocular in tone, he seems to wink at his audience in the knowledge that they will share his attitude towards learning:

I cannot make it [his book] sound so good a tune as I would, for want of learning, for I was never at Oxford, but while I



baited my horse; nor at Cambridge but while one Sturbridge faire lasted: wherefore if you doe examine mee concerning learning, I shall answer you as the fellow did the gentleman, who asking him the way to London a poke full of plumbes sir said he; or as he which came from a Sermon was asked what he heard there; he said it was a good Sermon, and the Preacher spake well, but he could not tell one word what he said, no more can I answer one word scholler-like or according to learning; yet both at Oxford and Cambridge I looked upon the Schollers, and they looked upon me, and so I became a little older, but never the wiser. (A4<sup>r</sup>)

The answer which the 'fellow' gave the 'gentleman' is a proverbial saying denoting an absurd or irrelevant response.<sup>55</sup> The reference to Oxford as a stop-over only, and to the fair at Stourbridge as the reason for stopping in Cambridge, coupled with the final observation on the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge, seem to be written in the expectation of getting a sympathetic response.

Joseph Swetnam does not give any indication in The Schoole of Defence of his reading except for the occasional comment that he has read 'divers Hystories' and so got to understand 'the noble acts, and also [...] the manly mind of these [sic] who lived many hundred yeeres agoe' (B3<sup>v</sup>). In his preference for histories and chronicles, Swetnam is characteristic of his age.

Although Swetnam does not name any specific sources there are, however, a number of biblical references throughout the early chapters of The Schoole of Defence which, if they are not taken from other books, reveal a certain familiarity with the Bible. Most of the biblical sources provided by Swetnam are correct.<sup>56</sup> To support his claim that men must defend and arm themselves for any eventuality he observes: 'It is said that we must not tempt God. Math. 4. but I hold it a tempting of God to presume wholly upon him for all occasions whatsoever, without seeking other meanes which is commonly known, and by God prepared for us' (B1<sup>r</sup>).

At times the tone of The Schoole of Defence becomes homiletic, as on F3<sup>r</sup>:

But I say, those that will go to Heaven, must not looke to be carried thither in a feather-bed, but by enduring injuries, crossings, vexations, and tribulations: O then thinke on Heaven, and yet forget not Hell; presume not, nor yet despaire not; live to die, and yet die to live: Oh then leade thy life in true humilitie, for so shalt thou undoubtedly escape Hels damnation, and enjoy Heavens everlasting salvation; which place the God of gods vouchsafe us all. (F3<sup>r</sup>)

Whether this passage is authentic or borrowed, Swetnam seems aware that in speaking of theological matters he is not on familiar ground as a mere author of a fencing manual: 'Because I touch divinity in many places of my booke, no doubt but some will say what should fencers meddle with divinity, but to answer you againe, every Christian ought to know the word' (F4<sup>v</sup>-G1<sup>r</sup>).

The Schoole of Defence is less anonymous than The Araignment of Women, which makes it possible to draw a few tentative conclusions about the person of Joseph Swetnam. His own admission, that he has 'no [formal] learning', although it cannot in itself be taken at face value, seems to be corroborated by the prose style of The Schoole of Defence, which is characterized by proverbialism and colloquialism. There is little insight into Swetnam's reading, other than evidence of familiarity with the Bible, and allusions to histories and chronicles. He mentions the murder of the Babes in the Tower on the instigation of Richard III and names the three murderers,<sup>57</sup> and then urges his readers to read the 'chronicles' where they will find the story in all its grisly detail. He does not mention any particular chronicle. Chronicles and histories were popular genres in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and in this respect Swetnam is not unusual in his reading.<sup>58</sup> In several places Swetnam provides some insight into his career, which appears to have been largely martial. He describes experiences in single combat, and he also claims to have travelled abroad and to have seen active service in foreign countries. He may have combined the profession of master of defence with that of a soldier.

Together with the few facts about Swetnam which survive from the letters of administration and the information which can be derived from The Schoole of Defence, it would appear from this that Swetnam was born in a class below that of the gentry, that he was educated enough to have acquired reading and writing skills but that he had not received a formal education. It would appear from The Schoole of Defence that he was a fencing master, and that he served as a soldier in foreign countries. A number of professional soldiers, among whom Barnaby Rich and George Whetstone, had turned their attention towards literature, but Swetnam does not emulate them in scope or breadth.<sup>59</sup> In his capacity as fencing master, he must have had connections which enabled him to be introduced, however shortly, to Prince Henry. All his references to contemporary persons, as far as they can be traced, relate to the West Country. Both in the case of some of the people mentioned, as well as in his

'farewell to Plimouth', in which he remembers better days, he seems to be focussed on the past. If he was fifty when writing The Schoole of Defence he may have been naturally inclined to look back to the past. It may also be that at the time when he dedicated his fencing manual to Prince Charles, probably in hope of employment, he had seen better days and was therefore inclined to be retrospective.

### 2.2.1 Sources for The Araignment of Women

Swetnam's habit of lifting passages from other authors for The Schoole of Defence is the governing principle of The Araignment of Women, which, much more than The Schoole of Defence, is demonstrably a patchwork of passages taken from other works. The practice of copying other works was much criticised both before and in Swetnam's days. Thomas Dekker, a formidable practitioner of verbal abuse, coined the phrase 'falconry' to brand the practice of preying on other works.<sup>60</sup> He wrote: 'The Falconer having scraped together certaine small paringes of witte, he first cuttes them hansomely in pretty peeeces, and of those peeeces doth he patch uppe a booke',<sup>61</sup> thereby providing a contemporary portrayal of a true scissors-and-paste man.

The practice of 'falconry' is usually associated with professional writers, prose pamphleteers often, who prepared new works with the help of older publications. The sources of one such prose pamphleteer, Thomas Lodge, a University Wit who turned to literature as a profession, have been the subject of close scrutiny.<sup>62</sup> One of his pamphlets, Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse,<sup>63</sup> a discussion of vices published in 1596, has been shown to be based mainly on Thomas Nash's Pierce Pennilesse, which had been first published in 1592.<sup>64</sup> Another pamphleteer, Anthony Nixon, wrote The Black Yeaere, published in 1606, which is apparently indebted to Thomas Lodge's A Fig for Momus. A Fig for Momus itself had been first published eleven years earlier, in 1595, and was in turn based on other works.<sup>65</sup>

Swetnam does not appear to have been a professional writer. Although he hinted at a sequel for The Araignment of Women in one of its dedicatory epistles, and claimed he had almost finished the second part of The Schoole of Defence<sup>66</sup> near the end of the fencing manual, The Araignment of Women and The Schoole of Defence are the only two books by Swetnam still extant. Like professional writers, however, he also made liberal use of other works for The Araignment of Women. The criticism voiced by Constantia Munda, the third

respondent in the Swetnam controversy, that Swetnam's The Araignment of Women would be 'as naked as AEsops jay'<sup>67</sup> if it was stripped of all the several patches taken from other authors, is very true. Some of the sources she claims Swetnam used, however, seem to be included by her for ridicule:

Tis worthy laughter what paines you have taken in turning over Parismus, what use you make of the Knight of the Sunne, what collections out of Euphues, Amadis a Gaule, and the rest of Don Quixotes Library, sometimes exact tracing of Aesopicall Fables, and Valerius Maximus, with the like schooleboyes bookes'. (D4r)<sup>68</sup>

The prose romances which Constantia Munda cites as part of Don Quixote's library,<sup>69</sup> Parismus, Amadis de Gaule and The Knight of the Sun seem to be included in this passage to discredit Swetnam's reading habits. Romances were classed as ephemeral reading,<sup>70</sup> and John Lyly's Euphues had lost much of its sophisticated appeal by the early seventeenth century.<sup>71</sup> Aesop's Fables were part of the curriculum of the second form of lower grammar schools and were given to pupils as an aid in construction. Valerius Maximus's compilation of historical anecdotes was likewise a 'schooleboyes booke', already recommended by Erasmus in his Colloquies as a storehouse for pupils in the lower forms of grammar schools to exercise themes.<sup>72</sup> Although Swetnam did use an anecdote out of Valerius Maximus (which he found in another source, however), the implication is clear: Swetnam's adult reading is only fit for schoolchildren.

The sources which Swetnam used are varied but for the most part would not have been classed as 'schooleboyes bookes'. The largest single borrowing has been extensively discussed by J.L. Lievsay in Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance. Stefano Guazzo was the author of an Italian courtesy book, the first three parts of which were originally translated into English by George Pettie as The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo and published in 1581.<sup>73</sup> Lievsay considers the first three books of The Civile Conversation to be 'a serious, comprehensive treatment of social relationships'.<sup>74</sup> A courtesy book like Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby as The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio in 1561,<sup>75</sup> was geared towards the nobility, while The Civile Conversation, according to its modern editors, together with Giovanni della Casa's Galateo,<sup>76</sup> was the only courtesy book that offered advice to the 'socially uneducated' classes.<sup>77</sup> Guazzo himself makes his intention clear in the first book of his work The Civile Conversation:

as lawes and civile ordinances are distributed not onely to cities, but to villages, castles and people subject unto

them, so I will that civile conversation appertaine not onely to men inhabiting cities, but to all sortes of persons of what place, or of what calling soever they are. To bee shorte, my meaning is, that civile conversation is an honest commendable and vertuous kinde of living in the world.<sup>78</sup>

Set in the form of a dialogue between Guazzo and his nephew Annibal, The Civile Conversation offers advice on matters of social behaviour. The second book, for example, is presented on the title-page as discussing 'perticular points which ought to bee observed in companie betweene young men and olde, Gentlemen and Yeomen, Princes and private persons, learned and unlearned, Citizens and strangers, Religious and Secular, men and women'. The Civile Conversation encourages its intended audience to observe its directions, and claims that social manners are not the exclusive property of the nobility or gentry:

truely I knowe many men of meane calling, who in gentlemanlike and courteous conditions, in good bringing up, and all their talke and behaviour, excell many gentlemen. And contrariwise, I am sure you know many gentlemen more uncivill then the Clownes themselves.<sup>79</sup>

Lievsay states that Guazzo's Civile Conversation was well-known to Elizabethan and Jacobean readers, and cites a number of authors whom he claims were influenced by Guazzo's book.<sup>80</sup> Among them are John Lyly, Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser, Robert Greene and Barnaby Rich. Lievsay is most positive in the case of Rich, the Elizabethan pamphleteer who published numerous moralistic pamphlets from the 1570s through the 1610s. The chapter on Barnaby Rich's indebtedness to The Civile Conversation is briskly called 'Barnaby Rich his Crafte of Fylching'. Whereas Lievsay has to remain speculative in the case of such authors as John Lyly and Edmund Spenser - their wider reading may also suggest more diversified and more original sources<sup>81</sup> - he is able to demonstrate that seven of Rich's pamphlets rely heavily on The Civile Conversation.<sup>82</sup>

For The Araigment of Women, Lievsay claims an even heavier debt: 'From beginning to end, although unevenly, the Araigment shows the influence of Guazzo. Without exaggeration, it may be said that The Civile Conversation is Swetnam's chief source'.<sup>83</sup> Although it is true that Swetnam took more passages out of the third book of The Civile Conversation than out of any of the other sources he used, it is an overstatement to claim that The Araigment of Women bears the stamp of The Civile Conversation throughout. Lievsay quotes a number of phrases which he claims are suggested by Guazzo's

book, but they are on the whole not conclusive, as he himself points out.<sup>84</sup> He rests his case in favour of the indebtedness of these phrases and anecdotes to The Civile Conversation on Swetnam's large single borrowing from the Italian courtesy book for his 'commendation of wise, vertuous and honest women' (H2<sup>r</sup>-H4<sup>v</sup>). On the basis of this, he sees The Araignment of Women as 'a perfect illustration of the diffused and often unidentifiable influence of Guazzo upon sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English writers'.<sup>85</sup> But this would argue for a thorough digestion of The Civile Conversation on the part of Swetnam, whereas it seems more likely that Swetnam merely lifted passages out of the third book where he saw fit (for the 'commendation of wise, vertuous and honest women').

Two passages are selected from The Araignment of Women to demonstrate Swetnam's 'mode of free adaptation'.<sup>86</sup> One of the passages occurs on G3<sup>v</sup> of The Araignment of Women, and offers advice to the prospective husband when it is best to marry, and to marry a 'flexible' young girl rather than a seasoned widow. As with the first passage, Lievsay does not establish any verbatim reliance on Guazzo's book, but argues instead that 'although the indebtedness to Guazzo remains perfectly clear, the process of adaptation and assimilation has gone much farther'. The ideas which Lievsay sees reproduced in the passage on G3<sup>v</sup> are scattered over three or four pages of The Civile Conversation so that, according to him, 'what is reproduced is rather the essence of an extended discussion, than any particular segment(s) of it'.<sup>87</sup>

Swetnam, however, is here credited with more re-creative powers and inclinations than seems to be warranted. In The Foreste, Swetnam's second largest single source,<sup>88</sup> a passage occurs which corresponds more closely to the paragraph under discussion than the statements from The Civile Conversation which Lievsay adduces as source evidence. Swetnam may have gone to another source than The Foreste for this passage, but if so, it was probably as easily available in terms of quick reproducibility as the passage from The Foreste.

The passages which Swetnam did lift almost verbatim occur on H2<sup>r</sup>-H4<sup>v</sup> of The Araignment of Women,<sup>89</sup> and concern advice on the choice of a good wife and how to maintain a good relationship between husband and wife. As Lievsay has decisively shown by reproducing the relevant pages from The Araignment of Women and italicising the verbatim quotations from the third book of The Civile Conversation, Swetnam took over a great deal word by word. He also paraphrased, condensed and omitted parts. In this respect Swetnam shows

himself to be a true patchwork author.

Some of these omissions and condensations within passages taken from The Civile Conversation are interesting, because they avoid original references to social status. For example, Swetnam begins his borrowing from The Civile Conversation with a consideration of the evil effects of disparity in age between an old woman and a younger man (H2<sup>r</sup>, lines 25-28). With the abbreviator's narrow eye for essentials he first condenses the original

Consider now I pray you, on the other side, the goodlye name  
whiche wrinkled and toothlesse women gette in taking to  
husbandes young and bearded boyes, and tell me whether the  
rage of those women be not greater then the hard fortune of  
the other; but to make short, there can be no agremente  
betweene suche contrarieties. (III.5)

to

Yet now consider on the other side, when a wrinkled and  
toothles woman shall take a bearded boy (a short tale to  
make of it) there can be no liking or loving between such  
contraries, but continuall strife and debate.

The hint of irony contained in the original 'goodlye name' is deftly brushed aside, as is the rhetorical appeal. It is interesting, however, to note that the final phrase in Swetnam's version ('there can be [...] strife and debate') occurs some seven lines down in the original passage. Swetnam omitted another type of marital unhappiness which reads in The Civile Conversation:

The like hapneth in mariages which are not equall in calling  
and condition; for so long as the one shall be nobly minded,  
and the other basely given, there can be no consent of  
minde, nor agreement in good will, but continuall strife and  
debate. (III.5)

The reference to mésalliance is omitted in Swetnam's version. That he did not merely abandon this passage is evidenced by the fact that he included the final 'continuall strife and debate' which occurs some seven lines further on in The Civile Conversation.

Another passage which is omitted occurs in the brief discussion of enforced marriages which immediately follows the passage already quoted (H2<sup>r</sup><sup>v</sup>, lines 29-31, 1-3). The original is twice as long as the reworked version, and the focus is chiefly on the plight of the bride rather than on the 'young couple' of The Araignment of Women. Guazzo dwells on the misery of such enforced marriages, and the inevitable repentance of the match-makers afterwards. This is omitted in The Araignment of Women, along with

yea they [the brides] are often conveyed to their husbands into straunge countreys among barbarous people, before they have any inkling of the matter. (III.5)

Swetnam more or less picks up from there. This state of affairs may not even have been very real in Guazzo's days, and is likely to have been included only for rhetorical effect, but it seems to have been too exotic for Swetnam. It is clearly a matter of speculation why Swetnam chose to omit such passages, but both passages share a class outlook which was alien to the 'common sort' of people which Swetnam addresses in his Araignment of Women.<sup>90</sup>

Swetnam rifled Book Three of The Civile Conversation for The Araignment of Women, and Lievsay thinks it is ironical that Guazzo's book, which throughout breathes an air of tolerance, friendship and admiration for women, should be one of the props of an attack on women. The tone of the 'commendation of wise, vertuous and honest women', which is derived from Guazzo's book, is indeed antithetical to the rest of The Araignment of Women.

It is interesting that Swetnam knew Guazzo's Civile Conversation, and that he probably had a copy at his disposal long enough to rework parts of the third book for The Araignment of Women. As has been stated, The Civile Conversation was first published in the English translation of George Pettie in 1581. There was another edition in 1586, with the addition of the original fourth book which Pettie had left untranslated. Swetnam must have used either a copy of the 1581 or the 1586 edition.<sup>91</sup> Although the appeal of The Civile Conversation was intended to be popular, there is no evidence that the entire book appealed widely.<sup>92</sup> A condensed version of the third book came out in 1607, with the title The Court of Good Counsell. This book presents itself as a marriage guide-book, and although it follows its original, the focus is on the more utilitarian aspects of marriage: 'let him that intendeth to marry, and [set] himselfe to that honourable state of life; (being the first bargaine of thrift, and the first step to good husbandry) take all the best Counsell he can'.<sup>93</sup> These considerations are absent in the opening pages of Book Three of The Civile Conversation. In spirit this advice is closely related to such a homely work as Thomas Tusser's An hundreth good points of husbandry,<sup>94</sup> ('I have bene prayde/ to shewe mine ayde,/ [...] / That such as wive,/ and fayne would thrive,/ may here be taught,/ almost for naught'), a work which is thoroughly practical in its focus.

A number of Swetnam's sources fall into that valued class of profitable books intended for the edification of readers who did not have the benefit of



a formal education.<sup>95</sup> This holds for the second largest source which Swetnam used, The Foreste or a Collection of Histories, translated by Thomas Fortescue from the French copy of Pedro Mexia's Silva de varia lecion.<sup>96</sup> The Foreste, which came out in 1571, is among the large number of books that were translated into the vernacular to be of profit to those who did not have access to the classical languages.<sup>97</sup> Thomas Fortescue, like many educated translators and compilers before him, is aware of his educational task in the dedicatory epistle to The Foreste:

To profite neverthelesse generally, was my desire, but chiefly the lesse learned, with this present Foreste [...] And if ought herein maie please thee, or profite thee in any thyng, accepte it thanckfully, other price thou paieest none, and give by thy good example, occasion to the studious, and learned in good letters, to take in hand, or attempte with like good will some other thyng, to thyne onely profite, furtherance, and commoditie. (A4<sup>v</sup>-B1<sup>r</sup>)

The Foreste was reprinted in 1576,<sup>98</sup> and another translation by Thomas Milles appeared in 1613 as The Treasurie of Ancient Times.<sup>99</sup> The educational purpose which Fortescue so clearly professed seems to be altogether absent from The Treasurie of Ancient Times. The latter is a handsome folio edition. Milles suavely addresses his audience in his dedicatory epistle: 'I know (gentle Reader) that custome demands an Epistle to thee, for Favourable Acceptance' (A2<sup>r</sup>), a tone which is very much unlike that of the dedicatory epistle to The Foreste. Swetnam did not use The Treasurie of Ancient Times, but a copy of the 1571 or 1576 edition of The Foreste. Both the 1571 and the 1576 editions erroneously print 'the King of Aira' for 'King Darius', in a historical anecdote included in Book 2, Chapter 4. The Treasurie of Ancient Times corrected the mistake to 'King Darius'.<sup>100</sup> The Araignment of Women features the erroneous 'King of Ayra'.<sup>101</sup>

The Foreste is divided into chapters bearing on a variety of edifying themes. Each chapter gives advice on the relevant topic, and provides illustrations drawn from classical history. The chapter which Swetnam made most use of is Book 2, Chapter 4: 'Of the cordiall and hartie love, that should be in marriage, with divers examples serving to that purpose'. Swetnam used some of the examples provided for G4<sup>v</sup>-H1<sup>v</sup> of The Araignment of Women.

All examples which Swetnam used praise the loyalty and courage of women. Swetnam did not condense or omit as much as in the case of The Civile Conversation, but instead fairly accurately reproduced the historical examples as he found them, although not in the same order. Swetnam does

paraphrase or add for greater emphasis, however. When he reproduces the story of Lucrecia, who was raped by Tarquin, he adds that she committed suicide in public 'rather then she would offer her body againe to her husbände being but one time defiled' (G4<sup>V</sup>), a postscript which is absent from his source, although usually added as Lucrecia's ruling motive for suicide. The anecdote of Fernandus Goncales follows, as in the original, where Goncales is still dubiously referred to as 'an Earle or Counte'. Goncales, spelt Guncalles in The Araignment of Women, is specified as 'an Earle' by Swetnam. The anecdote is more or less paraphrased by Swetnam, with only the final 'escaped the angrie wrath of the Prince' remaining intact. The original states the courageous act of the Earl's wife in a polished sentence: the fact of valour seems as important as the narration of the courageous deed itself. Both are given an equal number of lines in the original:

The mervailous love also, of the wife of Fernandus Goncales, an Earle or Counte, is no lesse in my judgemente commendable, then was also her policie, by which she deceived the king, and well delivered the countrie: she in stature, not muche unlike to her housebände, did on her his apparell, arrestyng still in prison, and he attired as a woman, paste forthe by her advice, fledde thence, and escaped the angrie wrath of the Prince. (Q1<sup>IV</sup>)

In The Araignment of Women, this introductory observation disappears, to be replaced by narrative only. Swetnam also adds the very satisfactory 'and afterwards his wife escaped also', omitted in The Foreste, but a familiar element of this story. The Prince pardons the Earl's wife when he is told of her courage.

As has been suggested, paraphrases are the most remarkable feature of Swetnam's borrowing from The Foreste. In the history of the poor fisherman, which The Foreste mentions as being derived from Pliny's Letters,<sup>102</sup> the comment on the gravity of the fisherman's illness, 'as was almost impossible for any man to sustaine', is substituted by 'that it would have grieved any living creature to beholde him', a change to a more colloquial idiom. This is also the case for the fisherman's wife's counsel, which in The Foreste is introduced as: 'perswaded with her husbände'. In The Araignment of Women, this reads: 'she brake out with him in these wordes'. A change to a more colloquial idiom also seems to apply in the case of an anecdote originally drawn from Quintus Curtius Rufus's Historia Alexandri Magni,<sup>103</sup> about King Darius and Alexander the Great. The original has:

but when newes was broughte hym, that his wife was dedde, in token that he more loved her, then he did his kyngdome, brake

out in teares, and wepte verie bitterly.

This may not have been explicit enough, because in The Araignment of Women King Darius is furthermore reported as saying 'that the losse of his whole kingdome should not have grieved him so much, as the death of his wife'.

The Foreste includes broad references to the sources of its anecdotes. It mentions for example that the story of the fisherman and his wife occurs in one of Pliny's letters. The reference to Pliny's letters is omitted in The Araignment of Women, although his name is preserved. The reference to Quintus Curtius Rufus as the source of the anecdote of King Darius's mournful speech after the death of his wife is also omitted. The sources do not seem important for Swetnam: he probably did not know the classical texts themselves, and Pliny's Letters or Quintus Curtius Rufus's Historia Alexandri Magni had not yet been translated into English. That Swetnam was very likely unfamiliar with the classical sources to which The Foreste refers may perhaps be demonstrated by the fact that he confuses the author Valerius Maximus with Tiberius Gracchus, the subject of one of his histories.<sup>104</sup> The Foreste reads:

The singular affection also, of Tiberius Gracchus, towards his wife, is then the other, no lesse straunge, or mervailous, whose historie, though it be common, redde in Valerius Maximus, yet in fewe to touche it, shall not bee superfluous. (P4<sup>v</sup>)

Swetnam omits this and picks up the text from there. It has already been suggested that Swetnam was inclined to omit the introductory niceties of his source; in this case it seems that unfamiliarity with a standard classical source (as Pedro Mexia already indicates, and as Constantia Munda was to scornfully point out) as well as editorial haste or carelessness led Swetnam to confuse Valerius Maximus with Tiberius Gracchus. Constantia Munda was to capitalize on this and other instances of Swetnam's ignorance in her response The Worming of a mad Dogge.

Another source which Swetnam may have used, George Whetstone's An Heptameron of Civill Discourses, first published in 1582, and reprinted in 1593,<sup>105</sup> is related to the genre of the Italian courtesy book. This book shares with The Civile Conversation an interest in social manners, and like Guazzo's book is advertised as almost a manual of social instruction. But it is also very much concerned with relationships between men and women. Whetstone's English variant of the Italian courtesy book is set in Italy and is got up as an account of the pastimes of a company of gentlewomen and gentlemen, gathered together for the Christmas season. The book recounts the

'principall Arguments' which were discussed during the seven days that the company were together. The summary of the contents already indicates the main interest of the gentlewomen and gentlemen present:

1. Of the difference betweene the Married State and the single life
2. Of the inconveniences of forced Mariages
3. Of the inconveniences of rash Mariages
4. Of divers speciall poynts concerning Mariage in generall
5. Of the inconveniences of over lofty, and too base love, in the choyce of either Husband or Wife
6. Of the inconveniences of Mariages, where there are inequalitie of yeares
7. Of the excellencie of Mariage; with many sound Lawes and laudable directions, to continue love betweene the Married

The themes discussed resemble those which are discussed between Annibal and Stefano Guazzo in the third book of The Civile Conversation, but the setting of a company gathered together for festive entertainment, discussing affairs of the heart, is found in Book Four. Lievsay writes that the questioni d'amore such as presented in the fourth book of The Civile Conversation originally derive from Boccaccio's Filocolo. They were a familiar genre in Italy by the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>106</sup> Usually in a party thus assembled, a moderator would be appointed, a topic set, and the several contenders would present their arguments, interspersed with historical anecdotes and examples. The party would usually include a misogynist (there is one in An Heptameron of Civill Discourses, called Doctor Mossenigo); a pert and witty gentlewoman equal to the misogynist (her name in An Heptameron of Civill Discourses is Katherine Tyas); and a wise and courteous gentlewoman, who is usually given the honour to preside over the entertainments. In Whetstone's book, she is called Lady Aurelia.

An earlier English example of the treatment of the questioni d'amore can be found in Edmund Tilney's The Flower of Friendship,<sup>107</sup> which came out in 1568. Tilney and a friend, Pedro di Luxan, are invited to supper by the Lady Julia. The supper party includes 'M. Lodovic Vives and an olde gentleman called M. Erasmus' (A4<sup>v</sup>). Lady Julia invites Pedro di Luxan to rehearse the commendations of marriage. Lady Isabella is the insolent female guest, whose opinions are largely qualified by Lady Julia. Another stock type, the misogynist, is also present, in the person of Master Gualter. He is described as a 'sawcie foole [...] still pratling against women' (B7<sup>r</sup>).

The tone of The Flower of Friendship is more sober than that of An Heptameron of Civill Discourses, which promises to provide 'memorable

questions and devices' (A2<sup>r</sup>). Whetstone's book is also more marked in its attention to social instruction. Although the dedicatory epistle is addressed to 'gentlemen and gentlewomen', the title-page appeals to a wider range of social classes: 'the better sorte, may see, a represe[n]tation of their own Vertues: And the Inferiour, may learne such Rules of Civill Governme[n]t, as will rase out the Blemish of their basenesse'. The flattering bow to the 'better sort' does not prevent a peremptory nod at the 'inferiour'. Apart from the sales advertisement contained in the title-page, Whetstone himself claims that An Heptameron of Civill Discourses can be helpful in social instruction. It contains:

Besides, a number of other Moral documents, needful reprehensions, and wittie sayings, to perfect the commendations both of a Gentleman and a Gentlewoman. (A2<sup>v</sup>)<sup>108</sup>

There are a number of verbal echoes from An Heptameron of Civill Discourses throughout The Araignment of Women, and large parts of 'The Beare-bayting of Women' seem to be derived from Whetstone's book.<sup>109</sup> But Whetstone himself most likely used other sources for his text, so that it is impossible to say whether Swetnam used An Heptameron of Civill Discourses, Aurelia, the later edition, or an earlier source.<sup>110</sup> However, the passages from An Heptameron of Civill Discourses which seem to recur in The Araignment of Women are scattered over several parts of the book, which makes it plausible that Swetnam very probably used this courtesy book as a source.<sup>111</sup>

Constantia Munda, the third respondent in the Swetnam controversy, pointed to a number of sources which Swetnam allegedly used, amongst which John Lyly's Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, which came out in London in 1578<sup>112</sup> and immediately set a vogue. It was imitated in style and subject-matter,<sup>113</sup> and Lyly himself added a sequel, Euphues and his England, which came out two years later in 1580.<sup>114</sup> Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit presents its protagonist as a 'young gallant, of more wit then wealth, and yet of more wealth then wisdom',<sup>115</sup> who ripens after trials and disappointment in love. Although Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and its sequel were enduringly popular, the estimation in which the novels were held soon declined. Euphuism, the style to which Euphues lent its name, was the chief factor in this decline. Lyly's style has been discussed by his modern editor, R.W. Bond, in terms of structure and ornament. The structural devices characteristic of euphuism include antithesis, the use of rhetorical questions, repetition, as well as alliteration and syllabic or word likeness. The ornamental devices favoured

by Lyly are the use of historical anecdotes, allusions to classical mythology, the introduction of recondite knowledge drawn from medicine and (natural) history in the form of similes, and the use of proverbs.<sup>116</sup> Although the euphuism of Lyly had literary predecessors in Sir Thomas North's The Diall of Princes (1557) and George Pettie's Pallace of Pleasure (1579),<sup>117</sup> it was the novel Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit which set the literary fashion for euphuism. The criticism of euphuism eventually focussed on the use of similes derived from natural history, sometimes fanciful, which were considered quaint and pointless, and Lyly's antithetical sentence structure, regarded as over-elaborate and senseless.

Edward Arber in his edition of both Euphues novels discusses the literary reception of Euphues. John Lyly was praised by William Webbe in A Discourse of English Poetrie (1586) for his eloquence and style which abounded 'in fitte phrases, in pithy sentences, in gallant tropes, in flowing speeche, in plain sense'. In Thomas Lodge's Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse (1596), the praise seems to be already qualified. He considers Lyly famous for 'facility in discourse'. And some thirty years later the poet Michael Drayton looks back on 'Lillies writing then in use' as

Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of fishes and Flyes,  
Playing with words, and idle Similes,  
As th'English, Apes and very zanies be  
Of everything, that they do heare and see,  
So imitating his ridiculous tricks,  
They spake and writ, all like meere lunatiques.<sup>118</sup>

Constantia Munda rightly included Euphues among the sources which Swetnam used for The Araignment of Women. If she was aware of Swetnam's borrowing, it is likely that she was also familiar with the current reputation of Euphues and so may have implied ridicule of Swetnam's reading. Although Euphues and euphuism were criticised in the early seventeenth century by advanced literary opinion, the novel continued to be reprinted, so that it was by no means unavailable or forgotten by the time The Araignment of Women came out. Constantia Munda recognizes the references to Euphues, and is scornful of them.

There are many exact verbal parallels between Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and several passages throughout The Araignment of Women,<sup>119</sup> notably in 'A cooling carde for Philautus and all fond lovers', the letter to Philautus, Euphues's friend and former rival in love, in which Euphues voices his disenchantment with women.<sup>120</sup> Euphues intends in his 'cooling carde' to arm

young men against 'fleetinge minions', and this is also the ostensible purpose of The Araignment of Women. The second dedicatory epistle, addressed to 'the ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men' expresses the hope that they may 'take a happy example by these most lascivious and crafty, whorish, theevish & knavish women' (A4<sup>v</sup>). With the exception of the 'commendation of wise, vertuous and honest women', The Araignment of Women rambles on about this theme. It does not follow, however, that Swetnam deliberately used Euphues as a model. Swetnam's borrowings from Euphues are random and consist mostly of similes, proverbs and one or two easily detachable passages which offer remedies for infatuated young men.<sup>121</sup> Nor did Swetnam adopt Lyly's euphuism as a stylistic feature, but instead seems to have rummaged through the text and lifted phrases and passages: there is no imitation of Euphues therefore, but a simple reproduction of part(s) of the original. It seems as if Euphues was used in much the same way as the other sources were, as a storehouse of material for The Araignment of Women.

A type of source which Swetnam probably used 'independently', that is, without copying from other works but actually using a source which was intended for easy reference, was that of the 'wit books'. These were compendia of usually aphoristic wisdom, mostly drawn from classical authors. To make the process of quick reference possible, wit books are divided into a number of chapters each dealing with one particular subject. Each chapter is headed by a definition or description of the relevant topic, followed by pertinent statements on the subject derived from (usually) classical authors. References to the original sources are sometimes but not as a rule included. An index of subjects is included at the back of the book, giving the reader immediate access to any number of subjects he wishes to consult. A large list of authors from which the compendium derives is usually included in front. Wit books were almost invariably published in octavo format, making them not only an easily accessible but also portable source of wisdom.

The earliest compendia of wisdom published in England date to the 1540s,<sup>122</sup> but they steadily increased in number towards the end of the sixteenth century. An apparently planned series of compendia was that of the wit books published or edited by the printer Nicholas Ling. The first in the series was Politeuphuia wits commonwealth, which came out in 1597. This proved to be the most popular in the 'wit' series, with eleven surviving reprints before 1640. Politeuphuia was followed by Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury being the second part of wits commonwealth, which came out in 1598,

Wits Theater of the little world, published in 1599, and finally Palladis palatium: Wisedoms Pallace. Or the fourth part of Wits commonwealth, published in 1604.<sup>123</sup>

The dedicatory epistles to these wit books usually announce a marked didactic purpose. Nicholas Ling promises his readers that 'The well disposed minde shall heere finde a bundle of good counsailes against vice, and Illiads of prayse for vertue'.<sup>124</sup> Another, earlier, compendium, The Forrest of Fancy, also gives an indication of the market for which these books were intended:

the common sorte whose learning nor capacity cannot attaine to the full perfection or perfecte understanding of such deepe misteries, have their severall delightes, as well in reading such workes, as are in their vulgar tongue, as in any thing else.<sup>125</sup>

As in Thomas Fortescue's dedicatory epistle to The Foreste, the intention is stated, although in a more condescending manner, to benefit readers who do not have access to the original classical sources.

In The Araignment of Women, several pages (D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>v</sup>) are taken up with examples, both biblical and classical, of men who were ruined by their association with women. It is not certain which compendium or compendia Swetnam used for this section, but several of the examples he lists can be found in wit books under the predictable headings 'Of Beauty', or 'Of Lechery', where the interested reader would find a wealth of examples pertaining to the fatality of infatuation for women. It is very likely that Swetnam went to one or more wit books for his own examples. Swetnam's example of King Antiochus (D4<sup>v</sup>) can be found in Wits Theater of the little world, under 'Lechery' in very much the same wording: 'Antiochus stayed a whole winter in Chalcedea, for one mayde which he there fancied' (L16<sup>v</sup>), - although Swetnam adds it was 'to his great hinderance'. Similar examples in Wits Theater of the little world, although they are not repeated verbatim in The Araignment of Women, show that these pages in Swetnam's attack are very likely indebted to existing wit books:

Socrates and Aristotle not withstanding their deepe philosophy and knowledge, the one became a slave to fair Hermia, the other was bewitched with Aspasiaes beauty.

Hercules layd down his club at Iolaes feet, and became a prisoner to her conquering beauty. Ovid. (L4<sup>r</sup>)

As was the case with Swetnam's confusion of Valerius Maximus with Tiberius Gracchus - the anecdote which he found in The Foreste - the incorrect



reproduction of another historical anecdote seems to indicate that he was not familiar with the context of the classical examples he used. He claims that

The sugred and renowned Oratour[] Demosthenes [...] came from Athens to Corinth, to compound and agree with Lays a common strumpet as you heard before of her [D2<sup>v</sup>], and yet hee had but one nights lodging with her. (D4<sup>r</sup>)

Demosthenes, far from having 'but one nights lodging' with Lais, was altogether discouraged because the courtesan demanded too extravagant a sum for her entertainment of the famous orator. In most commonplace books, the anecdote is included because of its aphoristic ending: Demosthenes primly answers Lais after she has named her excessive price that he did not come to Corinth to buy repentance so dear. The reason why Swetnam did not include Demosthenes's reply but instead drew a wrong conclusion is probably because he found it incompletely rendered in a wit book. Wits Theater of the little world for example has this lopped version:

Demosthenes that famous Orator, hearing the prodigall report of Lais beauty, came from Athens to Corinth, to co[m]pound with her for a nights lodging. (L4<sup>r</sup>)

The only source which Swetnam names himself is Ovid on 11<sup>r</sup>: 'Now if thou like not my reasons to expell love, then thou mayest trie Ovids art, who prescribes a salve for such a sore'. Ovid's Remedia Amoris had been published in an English translation in 1600 as Ovidius Naso his Remedie of Love,<sup>126</sup> but as Swetnam gives a prose summary of some of the Ovidian remedies against love, it is likely that he found this passage in an earlier, prose work.<sup>127</sup> The other scattered sources which can be identified are as various as The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius<sup>128</sup> for some of the invectives against women, and jest-books<sup>129</sup> for the jests which occur in The Bearebayting of widdowes - a testimony to Swetnam's eclectic reading if not borrowing.

The sources which Swetnam demonstrably or probably used for The Araignment of Women are interesting because they give an indication of the extent of his reading. Some of the sources, like the misogynist passages in The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius, although rather different in status than the jests also used by Swetnam, seem obvious choices for an attack on women. The jests which are reproduced in The Bearebayting of widdowes, too, are among the staple fare of satire on women. The wit books or compendia of wisdom which Swetnam very likely used for parts of The Araignment of Women point to his reliance on secondary sources for his classical examples. That Swetnam did not only use them for the sake of economy - as they enabled him to produce

fast - but also for want of recourse to the primary sources (a number of which, like Plutarch's Morals and Lives had been translated into English), seems to be apparent from his mistaken reference to the otherwise familiar aphoristic anecdote of Demosthenes and Lais. Swetnam's borrowing from The Foreste, a book dedicated to the formally uneducated but studious reader, also demonstrates his unfamiliarity with well-known classical anecdotes.

### 2.2.2 Prose style

It is difficult to speak of the prose style of Swetnam in The Araignment of Women when it is so abundantly clear that many passages are lifted out of other works. But the most conspicuous feature, whether it is derivative or 'original', it seems safe to say, is a marked predilection for proverbialism.<sup>130</sup> Hardly a single page in The Araignment of Women is without its share of proverbs or proverbial phrases. Whether or not Swetnam borrowed most of the passages in which the proverbs occur,<sup>131</sup> or whether he included most of them himself,<sup>132</sup> it is interesting to note that by the time The Araignment of Women was published, in 1615, the use of proverbs as a fountain of wisdom was already dated, or at least considered uneducated. In the sixteenth century, proverbs were considered along with classical adages to be inductive to the inculcation of moral virtues, and their status was unchallenged.<sup>133</sup> The autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, an Elizabethan musician,<sup>134</sup> written in the years 1569-1575, reveals his unbiased reliance on proverbs as a mnemonic and moral aid. He notes on several occasions:

also to funder my konseit and help mee now at a Pinch, I kalled to my remembrans an old proverb which saith that absenz kauseth forgetfulnes.

wherfor I kalled to my remembrans such proverbz and perswasions, as shiuld instinkt and provoke me to go forward with myn enterpryz.<sup>135</sup>

This unprejudiced reliance on proverbial wisdom did not survive the sixteenth century, but began to be looked upon as the hallmark of the uneducated man. At the turn of the century Sir William Cornwallis in his Essayes referred slightly to what he termed 'Proverb-mongers':

whose throates are worne like roade-wayes, with, Little said is soone amended : it is no halting befoe a Cripple, and such like : when I heare one of these, I looke for his drye nurse, for from her armes he plucked this language.<sup>136</sup>

Likewise the Earl of Salisbury in a letter to Prince Henry made use of proverbial wisdom but was conscious of its aura: 'I will therefore shortly conclude, (being, as I guess, more merry then eloquent at this hour) that my nagg is a horse, and he is a good horse, that never stumbles'.<sup>137</sup> Sir William Cornwallis considered the use of proverbs infantile, and Robert Cecil seems to relegate proverbs to the class of rude if jocular speech. Whether or not Swetnam borrowed his proverbs from others, the marked proverbialism of The Araignment of Women would have classed him as an uneducated author. Constantia Munda, who displays her own classical learning in her response to Joseph Swetnam, is triumphantly abusive of the latter's proverbialism. She selects a number of particularly boorish proverbs and draws her own conclusion:

Nor all is not gold that glisters, nor the way to heaven is  
strewed with rushes, for a dramme of pleasure an ounce of  
paine, for a pint of hony a gallon of gall, for an inch of  
mirth an ell of moane, &c. None above the scumme of the world  
 could endure with patience to reade such a medley composed of  
 discord. (E1<sup>r</sup>)

For Constantia Munda, anything in her adversary's work is fit for ridicule, but there is a constant emphasis in her response on Swetnam's ignorance and rudeness. Swetnam's proverbialism is another angle of attack for her, but again it is linked to his lack of education and sophistication.

Next to proverbs, similes are also a marked feature of The Araignment of Women. Like proverbs, similes were valued in the sixteenth century for their pithiness and persuasive force. William Baldwin in his Treatise of Morall Phylosophie, first published in 1547, explains this use of similes,<sup>138</sup> and Francis Meres, the compiler of Palladis Tamia, still considers in 1598 that 'all the source of wit [...] may flowe within three channels, and be contrived into three heads; into a sentence, a similitude, & an Example'.<sup>139</sup> Palladis Tamia focuses on similes as a source of wit, and many of the similes found under the heading 'Of Women' can be found in The Araignment of Women - as in Euphuus: The Anatomy of Wit, which was one of the sources of Palladis Tamia. Swetnam includes a number of similes drawn from natural history in Euphuus that were dismissed by Michael Drayton in 1624 as 'idle similes', such as 'the Estridge carrieth faire feathers, but ranck flesh: the hearb Molio carieth a flowre as white as snow, but a root as blacke as inke' (E3<sup>v</sup>-E4<sup>r</sup>). This stylistic feature of The Araignment of Women, however, is noted by Swetnam's adversaries not for its archaic euphuism, but for the

indiscriminate and unintelligent use Swetnam makes of similes. Constantia Munda in particular ridicules Swetnam's cursory selection of similes applicable to women and the random inclusion of them in The Araignment of Women. She claims that Swetnam hides behind his borrowed similes to disguise his poor argumentative skills:

Lord! how you have cudgeld your braines in gleaning  
multitudes of similies as twere in the field of many writers,  
and thrast them together in the floure of your owne devizor;  
and all to make a poore confused misceline, whereas thine  
owne barren soyled soyle is not able to yeeld the least  
co[n]gruity of speech. (D4<sup>r</sup>)

The criticism she levels against Swetnam's use of similes is that he does not incorporate them into a sustained argument, either as an introductory<sup>140</sup> or progressive element of speech, but as substitutes for argument. The similes in The Araignment of Women have the status of self-evident truths, which are not further explained or elaborated. This tendency of positing them as proof rather than as an aid to argument would have been encouraged by a 'gleaning', as Constantia Munda puts it, of similes found in wit books.

The prose style of The Araignment of Women is predictably as varied as its sources. There are many instances of what Constantia Munda termed 'rhyming doggerel', rhyming couplets introduced in the text, such as

man must be at all the cost, and yet live by the losse; a man  
must take all the paines, and woman will spend all the  
gaines. (C4<sup>r</sup>)

or

their catching in jest, and their keeping in earnest, and yet  
she thinks that she keepes her selfe blamelesse, and in all  
vices she would goe namelesse. (E1<sup>r</sup>)

The sources for these bits of doggerel may have been proverb-mongering ballads.<sup>141</sup> But there is also a long moralistic passage (E1<sup>r</sup>-E2<sup>v</sup>) which is exhortatory in tone and could have been taken from any sermon on the subject of repentance,<sup>142</sup> or any moralistic pamphlet:

you are only the peoples wonder, and misfortunes banding  
ball, tost up & downe the world with woe uppon woe, yea ten  
thousand woes will be gallopping hard at your heeles, and  
pursue you wherever you go; for those of ill report cannot  
stay long in one place, but come and wander about the world,  
and yet ever unfortunate. (E2<sup>r</sup>)

The Araignment of Women does not have an 'authentic' or consistent prose style because Swetnam borrowed from too many different sources. The one marked feature of style, proverbialism, may perhaps be considered congenial

to Swetnam. In The Schoole of Defence, where he concludes a eulogistic passage on Prince Henry not with a reasoned argument but with a cluster of proverbs, there is evidence that proverbialism was to Swetnam a habit of mind as much as a feature of style. He relies on the self-evidence of proverbs rather than on a capacity for sustained argument. In that sense Constantia Munda's suggestion, that Swetnam's 'owne barren soyled soyle is not able to yeeld the least co[n]gruity of speech', would seem to be particularly apposite.

### 2.2.3 The reception of The Araignment of Women

The Araignment of Women has had a largely unfavourable press. Its earliest modern critic, A.B. Grosart, who edited Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women in 1880, considered it 'a mendacious attack on Woman qua Woman, without a spark of wit, or salt of pungency'.<sup>143</sup> In this century, it has been called a 'dreary diatribe', 'almost hysterical' in tone, and a 'particularly virulent and poorly written attack on women'.<sup>144</sup> One author, who regards the controversy as one of the most interesting of the controversies on women in England, is nevertheless puzzled to find that The Araignment of Women itself was popular enough to be reprinted nine times between 1615 and 1637.<sup>145</sup> Most modern critics, when they discuss Swetnam's stylistic ineptitude, concur with the opinions of the three contemporary respondents to The Araignment of Women, who already pointed out the inadequacies of Swetnam's style and composition.

The popularity of The Araignment of Women appears to have established itself irrespective of the controversy which ensued after its publication. It does not seem probable that the controversy either dampened or boosted sales, because it would seem that The Araignment of Women and the controversy it provoked appear to have been directed at different ends of the market, with the possible exception of Ester hath hang'd Haman. The two dedicatory epistles of The Araignment of Women are addressed to the 'common sort of women' and the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men' respectively.<sup>146</sup> The first response, Rachel Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus, is dedicated to 'all vertuous Ladies Honourable or Worshipfull' (A3<sup>r</sup>). Although she also includes 'all other of hevahs sex fearing God, and loving their just reputation', she continues to address the honourable and worshipful only in her dedicatory epistle. Ester Sowernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman is similarly

dedicated to 'all right honourable, Noble, and worthy Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others, vertuously disposed' (A2<sup>r</sup>). Constantia Munda, finally, dedicates The Worming of a mad Dogge not to ladies or virtuous women collectively, but to her mother, 'the lady Prudentia Munda, the true patterne of Pietie and Vertue' (\*2<sup>r</sup>).<sup>147</sup> Rachel Speght and Constantia Munda in particular refer with contempt to the 'vulgar sort' and the 'vulgar ignorant' who would appear to buy up Swetnam's The Araignment of Women with great and unqualified approval.<sup>148</sup>

That the appeal of The Araignment of Women was indeed 'popular' in that sense, although its impact was probably exaggerated by the respondents, is evidenced by the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women. The sub-plot of the play, neatly interwoven with the main plot, is in effect a dramatic response to The Araignment of Women and its author. It was performed at the Red Bull theatre, a theatre patronized largely by the man in the street. The Red Bull is described in Historia Histrionica, first published in 1656, as 'mostly frequented by Citizena, and the meaner sort of people'.<sup>149</sup> An earlier reference to the Red Bull, in The Carelesse Shepherdess, acted at the private Salisbury Court theatre before King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria, ridicules the audience of the Red Bull in the person of a discontented theatre-goer:

I will hasten to the Money Box  
And take my shilling out again, for now  
I have considered that it is too much,  
I'll go to th'Bull, or Fortune, and there see  
A play for two pence, with a Jig to boot.<sup>150</sup>

If Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women was intended for a popular audience, the portrayal of Joseph Swetnam in the play may also be indicative of the esteem in which The Araignment of Women was popularly held. Swetnam, alias Misogenos, is presented as a fencer with marked misogynist inclinations, but he is eventually found guilty of the very charges which he produces against women. During his trial he denies having written The Araignment of Women, and so is taunted with the charge of cowardice. When judgement is pronounced, Swetnam remains irrepressibly misogynist in his attitude:

First, he shall weare this mouzell,<sup>151</sup> to expresse  
His barking humour against women-kind.  
And he shall be led, and publike showne,  
In every street i'the Citie, and be bound  
In certaine places to a Post or Stake,  
And bayted by all the honest women in the Parish.

Misog. Is that the worst? there will not one be found  
In all the Citie.  
Omnes Out, you lying Rascall. (V.ii.328-335)

But he is again produced, 'muzzled, hal'd in by women', in the Epilogue to the play, recants and promises that 'this my hand, which did my shame commence,/ shall with my sword be us'd in your defence'.

There is no real urgency in the portrayal of Joseph Swetnam, although he is presented as a cowardly fencer (his servant, Swash, claims Swetnam only pretends to be a fencer for fear of being beaten), and although as a misogynist he is in the end exposed as a lecherous hypocrite, the ridicule never gives way to indignation. Swetnam continues to mouth his misogynist platitudes even during his trial, and after sentence is passed. On each occasion his utterances have the force of a punch-line, intended to draw a laugh from the audience. In the end he is reclaimed, another indication that he is, after all, not considered serious enough to warrant an uncompromising treatment. Swetnam is presented as a comic figure, he never attains the seriousness and malice of a character like Iago, whose misogynist quips and insinuations take effect on Othello's mind.<sup>152</sup> Prior to his exposure, Swetnam is already rejected by the judicious characters in the play and finds a welcome only with the ignoble characters.

The Swetnam of the play repeats a number of phrases from The Araignment of Women, sometimes almost verbatim.<sup>153</sup> The playwright(s) must not only have resorted to a copy of Swetnam's attack, but probably expected the audience to be fairly familiar with The Araignment of Women.<sup>154</sup> Most of the quotations are included in an interview between Swetnam and the undeserving Scanfardo, a prospective fencing pupil of Swetnam. Swash, Swetnam's servant, (often indicated as 'Clown'), interrupts frequently with quips and puns. The comic tone had already been established before Scanfardo made his appearance, and it is clear that the entire scene, including Swetnam's quotations from The Araignment of Women, is meant to bear a comic character.

The staging of Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, with its portrayal of Swetnam as a cowardly fencer, at the Red Bull Theatre, appears to have been particularly apt, because the playhouse occasionally provided fencers with the use of its stage to enable them to perform their public contests. On 21 March 1622, for example, Sir Henry Herbert, the later Master of the Revels, licensed a contest at the Red Bull.<sup>155</sup> Although the publication of Swetnam's fencing manual in 1617 might suggest a carefully

timed attempt to prepare the ground for the performance of the play, it would seem that The Schoole of Defence is too serious and too lengthy a work to be classed as a preparatory prank. Moreover, there are no allusions to The Araignment of Women in the fencing manual, and the coincidence of the publication of The Schoole of Defence and Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women would therefore seem to be largely unrelated.

The title of the play must have linked Swetnam's name with that of 'woman-hater' in the public imagination. Swetnam's notoriety as a woman-hater also survived him. In later plays, Swetnam's name came to be used as a byword for 'misogynist'. In Tottenham Court, acted at the private Salisbury Court theatre in 1633, one female character comments on an enemy of women: 'He is one into whom the spirit of Swetnam's crept: I hope sir you are of a kinder disposition to our sexe'.<sup>156</sup> In The Launchinge of the Mary, a play which survives in manuscript, a female character passes judgement on the misogynists of a foreign country:

I knowe there a packe of Satyrists,  
Malignant Swetnams, drunken poetasters,  
Which farce and bumbast out theyr spurious lines  
With raylinge language 'gaynst our feeble sex.<sup>157</sup>

In Lady Alimony, a play published in 1659, another misogynist, again of a foreign make, is described as a 'very profest smock-Satyr, or woman-hater in all Europe. One, had he lived in that state or under that zone, might have compared with any Swetnam in all the Albyon Island'.<sup>158</sup> Towards the end of the century Anthony Wood wrote of Thomas Goffe, a playwright and contemporary of Swetnam, that he had 'always professed himself an enemy to the female sex, and was esteemed by many another Joseph Swetnam'.<sup>159</sup>

In these literary references, Swetnam's name is firmly established as a byword for misogyny. An earlier source, Samuel Rowlands's The Bride, a poem celebrating the married state which was published in 1617, may contain a passing reference to Swetnam and his Araignment of Women:

I know a prating fellow would maintain,  
A married man had but two merry dayes,  
His wedding day the joyfull first of twaine,  
For then God give you joy, even all men sayes:  
The second merry day of married life,  
Is that whereon he burieth his wife.  
And woemen unto shippes he would compare,  
Saying as they continually lacke mending,  
So wives still out of reparations are,  
And urge their husbands unto spending.  
Yea worse disgrace he would presume to speake:  
Which I will spare, least I offend the weake.



The two instances attributed to this 'prating fellow' also occur in The Araignment of Women.<sup>160</sup> Rowlands, a popular pamphleteer and versifier, may have had The Araignment of Women in mind when he included these lines.

Another attack on women, The Gossips Greeting, published in 1620, seems to echo The Araignment of Women in various places:

It may seeme straunge to some, that women should  
Be branded with a badge of Infamy:  
Who when they were first framed of this mould,  
Were as records do plainely verifie,  
Ordain'd to be to man a helpe and stay,  
And so some are, to helpe men to decay.

Their brests are harbourers of envious hearts,  
Their hearts are stored full of poysoned hate,  
Their heads, their minds, and all their other parts,  
With evill thoughts do still associate,  
Then needs must such be children of the divell,  
Whose heads, hearts, minds, and thoughts are always evill.<sup>161</sup>

If the passages in The Bride and The Gossips Greeting may be considered to refer to The Araignment of Women, they still constitute, along with the definite references in the plays quoted above, only literary evidence of the reception of Swetnam's attack on women. The only non-literary and near-contemporary evidence of the reception of The Araignment of Women occurs, rather uncharacteristically, in a commonplace book of notes predominantly on sermons, preserved in the Harleian MSS. This commonplace book was probably compiled in the 1630s by an author identified as [John?] Elliston of St. Albans.<sup>162</sup> The notes taken from The Araignment of Women make up the seventh item of this commonplace book.<sup>163</sup> Not surprisingly, Elliston appears to have found some aphoristic potential in The Araignment of Women; from the history of the courtesan Flora for example, reproduced on D2<sup>v</sup>-D3<sup>r</sup>, he extracted the observation 'All things are at a certaine rate except love'. Other homely observations which found favour in Elliston's eyes range from 'Every woman hath one especyall gossip or other at the least, w[hich] she doth love and affect above all [the] rest, & unto her she runneth with all the secrets she knoweth' (G1<sup>r</sup>), to 'If thy state be good marrie neere home and at leasure, if thy state be weake then goe further, and dispatch quicklye' (G3<sup>v</sup>).

The inclusion of The Araignment of Women in this commonplace book is rather an oddity. The only other entries out of the 26 items which may perhaps be compared to The Araignment of Women in popular scope are The Law of Drinking and Cupids Schoole, a book which promised to instruct its

readers in the acquisition of 'divers sorts of complements'.<sup>164</sup>

The evidence for the popular reception of The Araignment of Women is circumstantial and must rest on the portrayal of Joseph Swetnam in the play, and the later references to Swetnam's name as a byword for misogyny. But if these references can be accepted as evidence, it is clear that The Araignment of Women was not taken very seriously. Willem Christiaens van der Boxe, the Dutch publisher and translator of The Araignment of Women also recommended the Recht-banck for its entertainment value,<sup>165</sup> and it would seem that he too did not view The Araignment of Women in too serious a light. In England in 1704, when another edition of The Araignment of Women appeared, its nature found 'formal' recognition in the addition of 'A Second Part: containing Merry Dialogues, Witty Poems, and Jovial Songs'.

## Chapter 3

### The Swetnam controversy

#### 3.1 The Swetnam controversy: preliminary remarks

Two years after the initial publication of The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women, three direct responses appeared, all of which attacked Swetnam's pamphlet for its blasphemous nature, and its insincerity in arraigning the entire female sex instead of the women qualified in the title. These two charges are common complaints of apologists for women. What is remarkable, however, is that the three respondents combine to ridicule Swetnam for his (real) ignorance and the plethora of solecisms found in The Araignment of Women. The three opponents respond from a superior educational background, and the controversy is clearly not a battle between social equals.

All three respondents comment on the popularity of The Araignment of Women with the 'vulgar ignorant'. Constantia Munda appears to provide a clue to its popular reception when she refers to the mass of historical anecdotes, 'which the poore deluded Corydons and sillie swaines account for oracles, and maintaine as axiomes'.<sup>1</sup> Although all three respondents profess to be worried by the popular impact of The Araignment of Women, their responses, with the possible exception of Ester Sowernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman, are not primarily addressed to the commoner audience, which by their own admission gobbled up The Araignment of Women with such relish.

The controversy proper consists of the three direct responses which will be discussed below. Although STC lists Daniel Tuvil's Asylum Veneris (1616) and Christopher Newstead's An Apology for Women (1620)<sup>2</sup> as contributions to the controversy (Asylum Veneris probably for its proximity in time, An Apology for Women perhaps because it came out in 1620, the year when the play Swetnam, the Women-hater, Arraigned by Women was published), these two defences of women do not refer to Swetnam personally. Newstead's defence seems to be too far removed in time from the controversy to warrant inclusion, and as it does not refer to The Araignment of Women or its author directly there seems to be no reason to assume a possible attempt to revive the controversy. Tuvil's Asylum Veneris, which precedes the controversy by a year, was dedicated to Lady Alice Colville.<sup>3</sup> The title-page of Asylum Veneris promises to provide a defence against 'the fowle aspersions and forged

imputations of traducing spirits'. An argument in favour of including Tuvil's defence in the controversy would be that he discusses a number of the satirical commonplaces against women which can also be found in The Araignment of Women.<sup>4</sup> However, these satirical arguments are traditional in satires against women and would seem to have been included for that reason.

There is perhaps also the evidence of the three direct responses to consider. Ester Sowernam, the second respondent, mentions Rachel Speght and A Mouzell for Melastomus, but omits any reference to Asylum Veneris. Constantia Munda, the third respondent, praises both Rachel Speght and Ester Sowernam, but again there is no mention of Tuvil. Finally, Rachel Speght, who comments retrospectively on the controversy in her poem Mortalities Memorandum, published in 1621 (see 3.2.2), only considers Ester Sowernam and Constantia Munda. Had Asylum Veneris, or An Apology for Women become known as responses to The Araignment of Women, it is unlikely that this interested observer would have failed to comment on Tuvil's and Newstead's contributions to the controversy.

### 3.2.1 Rachel Speght

Rachel Speght is the only respondent in the Swetnam controversy to have published under her own name. She was not yet twenty years of age when she wrote A Mouzell for Melastomus, a fact which is referred to in one of the commendatory poems prefixed to her response.<sup>5</sup> She was the daughter of James Speght, D.D.,<sup>6</sup> who was rector of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, from 1592 to 1637. James Speght was born the son of John Speight of Horbury near Wakefield in Yorkshire in 1564. In 1585 he was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge, from which he obtained his B.D. in 1596. He was incorporated at Oxford in 1597, and proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1623. Early in 1591, at the age of twenty-six, he was ordained deacon in London and in May of that same year he was ordained priest.<sup>7</sup> On 5 April 1592, he was appointed rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street,<sup>8</sup> a benefice which he held until his death in 1637. He was buried on 7 April 1637, in the church of St. Mary Magdalen.<sup>9</sup> He left a will, dated 1 August 1636, in which his second wife and his children from his earlier marriage are mentioned.<sup>10</sup> The will bequeathes to his daughter Rachel two books, one a domestic guidebook, the other the collected works of the popular Puritan divine, Richard Greenham.<sup>11</sup> The other children mentioned in the will

are a son, Samuel, and two other daughters besides Rachel, Sarah and Rebecca, both of whom, like Rachel, were married and had children. Sarah inherited a gold ring and a ten shilling piece of 'ould gould', while Rebecca is mentioned in the will only through her children. Samuel, the only son mentioned in the will, receives 'my dining table in the Parlor and six [joyned] stools hee to have the same after the death of Elizabeth my said wife'. Samuel was also the main beneficiary of the will after the death of Speght's widow Elizabeth.<sup>12</sup>

James Speght was widowed between 1617 and 1620 and remarried Elizabeth Smith, the widow of Henry Smith, a merchant from Southampton in February 1621.<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Speght was made the executrix of the will, and the main beneficiary of James Speght's estate during her own lifetime. Although this is a normal provision for widows, the will alludes more than once to possible animosity between James Speght's children from his earlier marriage and his second wife, Elizabeth Speght. All references are to legal wrangles likely to ensue after James Speght's death. Such explicit references are common, and were included to protect the legal status of the beneficiaries.<sup>14</sup> In James Speght's will, the provisos particularly refer to Samuel Speght, who is to inherit the estate after the demise of Elizabeth Speght.

When James Speght drew up his will in 1636, his daughter Rachel Speght had been married for fifteen years to William Proctor, minister. They were married in August 1621, at the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, London,<sup>15</sup> eight months after James Speght's remarriage. The will of James Speght mentions two children from Rachel Speght's marriage, 'Rachell Proctor my grandchilde and [...] William Proctor her brother', who were to have forty shillings between them. William Proctor, Rachel Speght's husband, was to receive James Speght's Latin Bible,<sup>16</sup> an appropriate bequest. Proctor, who had probably been a student of Oriel College, Oxford,<sup>17</sup> was elected curate and lecturer of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, the parish church of his father-in-law, in 1625. By 1629 William Proctor and the vestry of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, were on uneasy terms, and Proctor eventually obtained the living of the parish of Stradishall in Suffolk in 1631. He continued there until 1644, when he was one of the conforming ministers who were removed from their livings in that year by the Earl of Manchester's Committees for the ejection of Scandalous Ministers.<sup>18</sup> The Suffolk committee which investigated into the conduct and religious allegiances of the ministers of the county, heard nineteen witnesses against William Proctor. Thirty-five charges were brought

against him and the five witnesses who brought in the last charge swore that 'if wee should enter into particular wronges wee should be a longe time in relating them'. Proctor was clearly an unpopular minister, since the grievances against him do not only bear a religious character. Apart from the usual charge of upholding Bishop Wren's injunctions, the complaints against Proctor ranged from drunkenness, swearing and gambling to acts of positive malice against parishioners.<sup>19</sup>

After her husband's sequestration, Rachel Speght was eventually granted 20 pounds a year for the maintenance of herself and her children on 6 November 1646. She was to reside three miles away from Stradishall, and not stir up faction against John Pinder, the then incumbent of Stradishall. Although this was a standard formula in the records of financial grants to wives of sequestered ministers, there had been trouble between Rachel Speght and John Pinder, who apparently had initially refused to pay her the allotted fifth part out of the living of Stradishall. Pinder and Speght were called before the Suffolk Committee on 29 December 1645; Pinder to answer for his refusal to grant Rachel Speght the allowed sum. He was apparently unable to prove his case against Rachel Speght, because he was ordered to pay the annual compensation previously granted to her on 21 January 1646.<sup>20</sup>

Rachel Speght's fortunes as the wife of William Proctor thus took a rather inauspicious turn in the end. The articles that were brought in against Proctor by the parishioners of Stradishall, if they can be taken at face value, present him as a man of a rather unministerial temper, who 'suffered much Card playeing in his house night after night', and on one occasion, after two or three hours of drinking, was heard to 'tell divers bawdy tales soe prophane & uncivill as was neither fitt for modest tounge or eare to speake or heare' - at least not for his scandalized parishioners.<sup>21</sup> In A Mouzell for Melastomus, Rachel Speght provided a prospectus for the Christian husband, but it is unlikely that her later husband answered to the profile:

as hee is her Head, hee must, by instruction, bring her to the knowledge of her Creator, that so she may be a fit stone for the Lords building. Women for this end must have an especiall care to set their affections upon such as are able to teach them, that as they grow in yeares, they may grow in grace, and in the knowledge of Christ Iesus our Lord.<sup>22</sup>

Rachel Speght's unmarried years appear to have been passed in her father's household, mainly in the performance of domestic duties. In A Mouzell for Melastomus she comments with standard self-depreciation on 'that little

'smattering in Learning which I have obtained' as the result of 'such vacant houres, as I could spare from affaires befitting of my Sex' (Fl<sup>r</sup>). Besides the acquisition of a 'smattering in Learning', Rachel Speght also found the time and the inclination in her vacant hours to produce, first, her response to The Araignment of Women, and second, a poem, Mortalities Memorandum, published in 1621. Since she comments on the Swetnam controversy in this poem, a brief discussion of Mortalities Memorandum will follow in the next section.

### 3.2.2 Mortalities Memorandum

Mortalities Memorandum was dedicated to Rachel Speght's godmother Mrs Mary Moundeford,<sup>23</sup> the wife of physician Thomas Moundeford, both parishioners of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street. Thomas Moundeford and James Speght were certainly acquainted,<sup>24</sup> and the fact that Mary Moundeford acted as godmother to Rachel Speght may perhaps serve as evidence of a friendship which must have begun in the 1590s.<sup>25</sup> Mary Moundeford is remembered by John Bramston, one of her younger relatives, as a woman 'of soe great virtue, soe modest, so devout, and soe well grounded in religion that she never swerved from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England in the worst of tymes'.<sup>26</sup> Rachel Speght addresses her pious godmother in her dedicatory epistle:

Unto your worthy selfe doe I dedicate the sequel as a testimonie of my true thankfulnessse for your faithfull love, ever since my beeing, manifested toward me, your actions having beene the Character of your affection; and that hereby the world may wnesse, that the promise you made for me, when I could make none for my selfe, my carefull friends (amongst whom I repute your ever esteemed selfe) have beene circumspect to see performed. (A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>)

Whether or not the promise referred to in the dedicatory epistle to her godmother also involved the responsibility for Rachel Speght's education,<sup>27</sup> it would seem that if a close relationship existed between Mary Moundeford and Rachel Speght, the latter must have found her godmother's pious character congenial. Mortalities Memorandum reveals a deeply religious, if traditional, sentiment on the part of the author. If Rachel Speght intended to give evidence of a complete Christian education in Mortalities Memorandum, she certainly succeeded in doing so in the second part of the poem, which is a traditional memento mori. The first part of the poem, entitled 'The Dreame', is an allegorical piece which is interesting for its autobiographical

comments on Speght's own advancement of learning and the Swetnam controversy. Rachel Speght, the Dreamer, complains to Thought of her illness, Ignorance. Thought refers her to Experience, which she will find with the aid of Age. Experience tells her that Knowledge only is able to cure her of her illness. Knowledge grows in Erudition's garden and is nurtured by Industry. But of Knowledge there are, traditionally, two kinds, good and bad. Bad Knowledge needs no effort to acquire, and its companion, Dissuasion, attempts to keep the Dreamer from attaining true knowledge, as it

Did many remoraes to me propose,  
As dulnesse, and my memories defect,  
The difficultie of attaining lore,  
My time, and sex, with many others more. (A4<sup>V</sup>)

Desire, Truth and Industry reproach Dissuasion for her 'devilish inventions'. To the argument that a woman is unfit to obtain Knowledge Truth opposes the consideration that

Both man and woman of three parts consist,  
Which Paul doth bodie, soule and spirit call:  
And from the soule three faculties arise, <sup>1Thess.5.23</sup>  
The mind, the will, the power; then wherefore shall  
A woman have her intellect in vaine,  
Or not endeavour Knowledge to attaine. (B2<sup>r</sup>)

Rachel Speght does not only give evidence of her individual desire for education in this part of Mortalities Memorandum, but also puts forward a plea for the legitimate status of women's education based on Christian doctrine.<sup>28</sup> As an advocate of education for women, Rachel Speght shows some individuality. Her views on the necessity and legitimacy of women's education, however briefly expressed, are not in the mainstream of contemporary thought on women's education.<sup>29</sup>

'The Dreame' continues to relate the progress of Speght's education, which she describes as being interrupted at one point.<sup>30</sup> When she returns 'home', she comments on the controversy:

by the way I saw a full fed Beast,  
Which roared like some monster, or a Devill.  
And on Eves sex he foamed filthie froth,  
As if that he had had the falling evill;  
To whom I went to free them from mishaps,  
And with a Mouzel sought to binde his chaps.

But as it seems, my moode out-ran my might,  
Which when a self-conceited Creature saw,  
Shee past her censure on my weake exploit,  
And gave the beast a harder bone to gnaw;  
Haman shee hangs, 'tis past he cannot shun it,



For Ester in the Pretertense hath done it.

And yet her enterprize had some defect,  
The monster surely was not hanged quite:  
For as the childe of Prudence did conceive,  
His throat not stop't he still had power to bite.  
She therefore gave to Cerberus a soppe,  
Which is of force his beastly breath to stoppe.

But yet if he doe swallowe downe that bit,  
Shée other-wayes hath bound him to the peace;  
And like an Artist takes away the cause,  
That the effect by consequence may cease,  
This franticke dogge, whose rage did women wrong,  
Hath Constance wormed to make him hold his tongue. (B4<sup>r</sup>)

Rachel Speght's poetical talents are not equal to her indignant recollections of the controversy, but these lines do reveal that she carefully followed the progress of her own and the other responses. Incorporated in these stanzas are references to Joseph Swetnam's Araignment of Women, her own A Mouzell for Melastomus, Ester Sowernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman and Constantia Munda's The Worming of a mad Dogge, Or a Soppe for Cerberus. She provides her own comment on Ester Sowernam's criticism of A Mouzell for Melastomus in her contemptuous reference to that 'self-conceited creature'.<sup>31</sup> She remembers Constantia Munda, who dedicated her response to her mother Prudentia Munda, as the 'childe of Prudence'. As the references to the responses are not very explicit, it does not seem likely that Speght included these reminiscences in an attempt to revive interest in the controversy. It would seem that she included this passage as a record of her earlier achievements. This seems all the more likely because 'The Dreame' continues with a further autobiographical account of the sudden death of her mother. If the events in the first part of the poem are related chronologically, her mother's death occurred in or after 1617 but before January 1621.<sup>32</sup> This episode in Rachel Speght's life prompted her to write the second part of Mortalities Memorandum, a preparation for death. The poem features traditional inducements to abhor life:

If man were fettered in a loathsome goale,  
Without the sparke of hope to come from thence,  
Till prison walls were leuell with the ground,  
He would be glad to see their fall commence.  
Thy bodies ruine then rejoyce to see,  
That out of Goale thy soule may loosed be (C3<sup>v</sup>)

and to consider death only as an entry into a better world:

Death corporall in fine is but as a dore,

Through which our soules doe passe without delay. (C4<sup>v</sup>)

Mortalities Memorandum may have been partly a therapeutic exercise, written by Speght as a consolation after the death of her mother. Her motives for publishing the poem as expressed in the Epistle to the Reader, however, are thoroughly conventional:<sup>33</sup>

Amongst diversitie of motives to induce the divulging of that to publique view, which was devoted to private Contemplation, none is worthy to precede desire of common benefit [...] I levell at no other marke, nor argue at other end, but to have all sorts to marke and provide for their latter end. (A2<sup>r</sup>)

In the Epistle to the Reader, Speght provides an interesting comment on the reception of her response to The Araignment of Women:

I know these populous times affoord plentie of forward writers, and Criticall Readers; my selfe hath made the number of the one too many by one, and having bin toucht with the censures of the other, by occasion of my mouzellling Melastomus, I am now, as by a strong motive, induced (for my rights sake) to produce and divulge this ofspring of my endeavour. (A2<sup>r</sup>)

The censure which she claims to have received from critical readers appears to have been focussed on the reputed authorship of A Mouzell for Melastomus, as her intention is 'to prove them further futuramente who have formerly deprived mee of my due, imposing my abortive upon the father of me, but not of it' (A2<sup>v</sup>). Two of James Speght's sermons had appeared in print, in 1613 and 1615,<sup>34</sup> so that it is understandable that Speght's claim to authorship at the early age of twenty could have easily been challenged.

It is perhaps not surprising that this should have been the case. In the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century, only ten first editions of works by women had appeared, and of those ten not one compares with A Mouzell for Melastomus in polemic intent.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, Speght is the first female author in the early seventeenth century to appear in print as a champion of her sex.<sup>36</sup>

### 3.2.3 A Mouzell for Melastomus

Although the imprint of A Mouzell for Melastomus reads 1617, Speght's response was probably written late in 1616, as it was entered on 14 November 1616.<sup>37</sup> By that time, The Araignment of Women had been reprinted twice, in 1615 and 1616, while another reprint was to follow in 1617, the year of the

controversy. A Mouzell for Melastomus was entered to Thomas Archer, the publisher of The Araignment of Women. Although this coincidence suggests a possible planned promotion of The Araignment of Women by Thomas Archer, who may have wished to boost interest in Swetnam's attack by bringing out a response, it is unlikely that this was the case. Rachel Speght, although she was later to publish Mortalities Memorandum, was not a 'professional' writer, and it is not probable that she would have written her response on demand. A Mouzell for Melastomus rather appears to have been an independent production, and it does not appeal to the 'common sort' of readers, as The Araignment of Women clearly did. It is more likely that Archer was informed of the existence of a written response and agreed to publish it. James Speght, Rachel Speght's father, had acted as licenser for the press between 1607 and 1610,<sup>38</sup> so he was familiar with the printing and publishing business, and he may have offered the pamphlet to Archer. More effort was bestowed on the printing of A Mouzell for Melastomus than on The Araignment of Women,<sup>39</sup> and the list of errata proves that the author, or else a press corrector, revised the text after printing.<sup>40</sup> Archer himself usually had his books printed for him without much care or afterthought; and A Mouzell for Melastomus, being rather better groomed than most of Archer's books, again suggests that it was the author and not the publisher who was interested in bringing out a respectable edition.

The status of A Mouzell for Melastomus in the Swetnam controversy has been variously appreciated by modern critics. A.B. Grosart, the first editor of the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, assumed with nineteenth-century certainty that A Mouzell for Melastomus, together with the two other responses, were 'passionate "Answers"', but later added that 'they are somewhat dreary reading'.<sup>41</sup> Betty Travitsky, who compiled texts of seventeenth-century women writers, calls A Mouzell for Melastomus 'a fairly subdued rejoinder'.<sup>42</sup> Angeline Goreau, another recent anthologist of seventeenth-century English female authors is even more dismissive of A Mouzell for Melastomus: 'Rachel Speght's defense of women was an unfortunately inept jumble of quoted Scripture, practically unintelligible for a modern reader'.<sup>43</sup> Linda Woodbridge, on the other hand, who discusses Speght's response more extensively in the context of the formal controversy, thinks that Speght's 'pious tone is not necessarily any more than a rhetorical ploy, and a shrewd one at that. An excellent way of countering a flippant, jesting opponent is to adopt a tone that makes flippancy and jest

inappropriate; the appeal to religion is an excellent strategy for doing just that'.<sup>44</sup> Finally, although Woodbridge concedes that the structure of A Mouzell for Melastomus is not 'that of the traditional formal defense', she appears to include Speght's response in the ranks of formal defences on the basis of Speght's exposure of the stylistic inadequacies of The Arraignement of Women: 'Her emphasis on literary style is a reminder that the formal controversy was a literary battle'.<sup>45</sup>

It will be argued in the following discussion of A Mouzell for Melastomus that Speght's insistence on the stylistic ineptitudes of The Arraignement of Women may be not so much due to her concern that 'Swetnam had violated the rules of the rhetorical game',<sup>46</sup> but rather to her educated contempt for and ridicule of an adversary of pocket-size proportions - one of the ruling motives also of Constantia Munda. But first of all, it will be examined whether A Mouzell for Melastomus can be considered to be a formal defence.

The title-page announces Speght's response as 'an Apologeticall Answer to that Irreligious and Illiterate Pamphlet made by Io. Sw. and by him Intituled, The Arraignement of Women'. This announcement in itself could very well act as the preliminary to a work of the formal controversy: the ad hominem attack was standard in formal defences and attacks.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, Speght's contention in the Dedicatory Epistle, that she was induced, '(though yong, and the unworthiest of thousands) to encounter with a furious enemy to our sexe, least if his injust imputations should continue without answer, he might insult and account himself a victor' (A3<sup>r</sup>), could be classed as the opening move in a formal defence, with the author posing as a champion of her sex.<sup>48</sup>

Another aspect of A Mouzell for Melastomus which would seem to belong to the tradition of the formal defence is Speght's intention to write 'Of Womans Excellency, with the causes of her creation' (C2<sup>v</sup>), a common feature of defences of women. However, a closer examination of this passage suggests that Speght is here probably more indebted to her acquaintance with biblical commentaries on Genesis 2 and 3 than to her familiarity with the genre of the formal defence, which sets out to extol woman as more excellent than man in the circumstances of her creation.<sup>49</sup> Speght first lists four objections commonly raised against women and then proceeds to reject them.<sup>50</sup> Her discussion of the first objection, that woman, although created good, brought death to mankind through her transgression, seems to be an echo of Swetnam's opening statements in the first chapter (B1<sup>r</sup>). Speght explains that Eve was

tempted first 'because where the hedge is lowest, more easie is it to get over; and she being the weaker vessell was with more facility to be seduced' (C2<sup>v</sup>). This is an admission never found in a formal defence,<sup>51</sup> and Speght's explanation is indeed more reminiscent of the views of a biblical commentator like Andrew Willet, who claimed that the serpent 'setteth upon the woman first, [...] because he saw her to be the weaker, and so fittest for him to worke by'.<sup>52</sup> The third objection she considers, 'It is good for man not [to] touch a woman', is likewise one which is never raised or refuted in formal defences, but it was discussed in biblical commentaries. Andrew Willet points out to his readers that 'Neither is S.Paul contrarie to Moses, where he saith, it is good not to touch a woman: for he speaketh in respect of those present times of persecution, wherein their wives might have beene a let unto them. Mercer. 5'. Rachel Speght cancels this objection with exactly the same argument.<sup>53</sup>

After having removed 'those stones, whereat some have stumbled, others broken their shinnes', she continues with her intended discussion of the excellency of women. The arguments she advances, the efficient, material, formal and final causes of woman's creation, can be found in both biblical commentaries and formal defences.<sup>54</sup> But again Speght is probably working within the tradition of the biblical commentaries rather than that of the apologies for women. She does not enumerate the causes of woman's creation to prove the absolute superiority of women, and although she lists a few examples of biblical women, her purpose is antithetical to that of the formal defence:

Fourthly, and lastly, the finall cause, or end, for which woman was made, was to glorifie God, and to be a collateral companion for man to glorifie God, in using her bodie, and all the parts, powers, and facilities thereof, as instruments for his honour: As with her voice to sound foorth his prayes, like M[i]riam, and the rest of her company [...] Her heart should be a receptacle for Gods Word, like Mary that treasured up the sayings of Christ in her heart. (D2<sup>rv</sup>)

Speght's defence of the marital status, although in itself again a feature of the formal literary defence, differs from the latter in its conclusion. She posits the Pauline axiom that 'a truth ungaine sayable [it is] that the Man is the Womans Head', a reflection of the Christian marital hierarchy which again was not the concern of the formal defence. She continues: 'by which title yet of Supremacie, no authoritie hath hee given him to domineere, or basely command and imploy his wife, as a servant, but hereby he is taught the

duties which hee oweth unto her' (D4<sup>v</sup>). As the woman's superior, Speght contends, the husband should 'protect and defend his Wife from injuries' (D4<sup>v</sup>), and 'hee must live with her lovingly, and religiously, honouring her as the weaker vessell'. Finally, he should 'by instruction, bring her to the knowledge of her Creator, that so she may be a fit stone for the Lords building' (E1<sup>r</sup>). This discussion of the duties of husbands, informed by religious principles, bears great correspondence to the emphasis on the duties of husbands in marriage sermons. The Puritan preacher William Whately based his wedding sermon A Bride-bush on Ephesians 5:23: 'The Husband is the Wives Head'. Whately exhorts the husband to 'give a good example, walking uprightly, Christianly, soberly, religiously in his family', to 'shun bitterness, unthriftiness and lightness' and to use his authority for 'the good and benefit of the party governed, to the glory of God the chiefe Lord and Governour of all'.<sup>55</sup>

Within the confines of the Christian principle concerning the subjection of women, however, Speght does insist on the responsibilities of husbands:

Thus if men would remember the duties they are to performe in being heades, some would not stand a tip-toe as they doe, thinking themselves Lords & Rulers, and account every omission of performing whatsoever they command, whether lawfull or not, to be matter of great disparagement, and indignity done to them. (E1<sup>r</sup>)

She advocates the exercise of discretion on the part of the wife: 'for if a wife fulfill the evill command of her husband, shee obeies him as a tempter' (E1<sup>rv</sup>).<sup>56</sup>

The first part of A Mouzell for Melastomus does not refer to The Araignment of Women directly but presents a refutation of four objections raised against women, after which Speght proceeds with a discussion of the excellency of women and a defence of the marital status, both of which, although they are also features of the formal defences, are not in the final analysis related to them.

The second part of A Mouzell for Melastomus, entitled 'Certaine Quaeres to the bayter of women', seems to confirm that Speght's response is not a formal defence. In her Epistle to the Reader she explains her procedure in the 'Quaeres':

I am not altogether ignorant of that Analogie which ought to be used in a literate Responsarie: But the Beare-bayting of Women, unto which I have framed my Apologeticall answere, beeing altogether without methode, irregular, without grammaticall Concordance, and a promiscuous mingle-mangle, it

would admit no such order to bee observed in the answering thereof, as a regular Responsarie requireth. (F1<sup>r</sup>)

The 'regular Responsarie' to which Speght refers would seem to be that of an ordinary polemic or controversial response, such as were regularly published in the numerous contemporary religious controversies. In these responses, the opponent's claims were quoted at large, with page and line references, and subsequently questioned or refuted, for the better convenience and persuasion of the reader.<sup>57</sup> This is also what Speght, within the limits imposed by Swetnam's 'promiscuous mingle-mangle', sets out to do:

You affirme (Page 10. line 18.) that for the love of women, David purchased the displeasure of his God: It had beene good that you had cited the place of the story where you finde it, For I never yet in Scripture read, that the Almighty was displeased with David for his love to women, but for his lust to Bathsheba, which afterward brought forth his adulterous act, and his causing Uriah to be murdered. 2.Sam.11.  
(F3<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>)

The various passages to which Speght takes exception in the 'Quaeres' can be arranged under several headings. There is exposure of the blasphemous or incorrect biblical passages in The Araignment of Women, ridicule of inconsistent and illogical passages, and general censure of the hypocrisy of the author.

Although Woodbridge claims that Speght puts 'heavy emphasis on style' in A Mouzell for Melastomus,<sup>58</sup> and although Speght herself complains of the ungrammaticality and illogicality of Swetnam's attack in several places of her response, there are in the 'Quaeres' only a few references to Swetnam's grammatical and stylistic misdemeanours.<sup>59</sup> More attention is paid to the contradictory passages in The Araignment of Women,<sup>60</sup> while the blasphemy contained in 'If God had not made women onely to bee a plague to man, he would never have called them necessarie evils' (E4<sup>r</sup>) prompts a page-long response from Speght. She refutes Swetnam's statement with a syllogism, and begins her response with the observation:

Albeit I have not read Seaton or Ramus, nor so much as seene (though heard of) Aristotles [Organon], yet by what I have seene and reade in compasse of my apprehension, I will adventure to frame an argument or two, to shew what danger, for this your blasphemy you are in. (G1<sup>r</sup>)<sup>61</sup>

This is taken by Woodbridge as evidence of the fact that 'Speght does not take her own erudition too seriously'.<sup>62</sup> It may also be argued, in view of Speght's demonstrable seriousness in the first part of A Mouzell for

Melastomus, that her references to Seton, Ramus and Aristotle's Organon are included to indicate a certain - nominal - awareness of the contemporary debate on logic.<sup>63</sup> In that sense her allusion to the controversial Ramus may not have been a conscious attempt to put her own erudition in scale, but rather a desire to publicize her familiarity with the major currents in contemporary logic, and so give an indication of the extent of her learning.

Rachel Speght is praised in the three commendatory poems prefixed to A Mouzell for Melastomus for her learning.<sup>64</sup> Speght herself refers on several occasions with traditional modesty to her defective learning, but also appears willing to display her knowledge, as when she attempts a rather niggling correction on the medicinal properties of the herb rue.<sup>65</sup> Her reading appears to have included the Church Fathers Augustine and Eusebius - she mentions the latter Church historian in connection with the life of Paul. She also refers to Pagninus's comments on 1Kings 11:3.<sup>66</sup> Her references to the style figures 'Ironia', 'Sarcasmus' and 'Metonimie' would seem to point to an acquaintance with or interest in works on poetical theory.<sup>67</sup> Speght's own, and probably hard-won, achievements in the field of learning could explain her irritation with and her desire to expose Swetnam's poorly written attack on women. In her second epistle, addressed to Swetnam,<sup>68</sup> she ridicules his ignorance:

you have used such irregularities touching concordance, and observed so disordered a methode, as I doubt not to tel you, that a very Accidence Schollar would have quite put you downe in both [...] you beeing greedie to botch up your mingle mangle invective against women, have not therein observed, so much as Grammer sense: But the emptiest Barrell makes the lowest sound; and so we wil account of you. (B1<sup>v</sup>-B2<sup>r</sup>)

Although stylistic criticism was not unusual in formal defences,<sup>69</sup> it has been argued above that Speght was not concerned with writing a formal literary response. Yet if Speght did not frame a formal defence, she must have taken The Araignment of Women, or the impact it had on the 'vulgar ignorant', more seriously than was warranted. Swetnam himself gave an indication of the nature of The Araignment of Women when he classed it as 'the toyes of an idle head'. If Speght took Swetnam's attack more or less seriously, she may have been provoked by its uneven quality. It has been argued in the first chapter that there are a number of passages in the second and third chapter of The Araignment of Women which are outside the province of the formal attack. Speght herself refers to the confusion of purposes in The Araignment of Women:



you promise a Commendation of wise, vertuous, and honest women, When as in the subsequent, the worst words, and filthiest Epithites that you can devise, you bestow on them in generall, excepting no sort of women. (B3<sup>r</sup>)

It is impossible to determine whether this is sincere criticism, since this is also the contention of Ester Sowernam, whose Ester hath hang'd Haman qualifies as a formal response much more than A Mouzell for Melastomus. The only certain observation that can be made about A Mouzell for Melastomus is that Speght was not working in the tradition of the formal defence, and that she appears to have been a woman of strong religious views who may have found objectionable that which her fellow respondents treated with greater latitude.

### 3.2.4 A hostile annotation of A Mouzell for Melastomus<sup>70</sup>

The publication of A Mouzell for Melastomus prompted the private criticism of an anonymous contemporary reader, as appears from the heavily annotated pages of a copy of A Mouzell for Melastomus, which is in the holdings of the Beinecke Library of Yale University.<sup>71</sup> The annotator of this copy seems to have found Rachel Speght's contribution to the controversy, as coming from a young unmarried woman, rather titillating. On D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup> of the Beinecke Library copy, where Speght is discussing the happiness to be found in marriage, there are repeated interjections, such as, 'oh for a husband', 'Maydenhead for a husband', and 'You pleade well for a husband, & it is great pittie, that you have not had a good one long since'. When Speght claims that 'Marriage is a merri-age' her critic notes: 'see how shee is carried away in a golden distraction; you must goe to man, or all will bee spoyled'. By discussing the duties of a husband ('husbands should not account their wives as vassals'), Speght seems to him to be angling for a suitable candidate in marriage: 'you make your way, againe you gett a husbände'. He remarks, finally, that 'this booke will ensure you a husband'. When Speght states elsewhere that she is 'young in yeares' (F1<sup>r</sup>), her critic mocks: 'Virgo pudicitiam notat aetatem[ue] puella, you speake like a mayd, not like a Virgin, I am young sir, & scorne affection, 'um, 'um, 'um'.

Sometimes the tone of his annotations becomes scurrilous, as when he comments on the lines of one of the commendatory poems, which run: 'And with the fruit of her industrious toyle / To this Goliath she hath given the foyle' (B4<sup>r</sup>) with: 'What! throwing stones! give mee yer arse'. The author of

this poem styled himself 'Philaletes', the annotator dubs him 'Philogunes'. The next commendatory poem begins with the lines 'If he that for his Countrie doth expose / himselfe unto the furie of his foe' (B4<sup>v</sup>); they are supplied with the comment: 'Doth shee fight for her Cunt- / rie, for a puddinge as soone'. The commendatory poems seem to have particularly provoked Speght's annotator. The author of the last poem, which ends with the lines 'And now in fine, what shall I say? / But that she bears the triumph quite away' (B4<sup>v</sup>), is dismissed with the note: 'Thy mistris beares [your] prick & prize away'.

It is interesting that Speght's critic also knew that her father was a minister.<sup>72</sup> When Rachel Speght taxes Swetnam for declaiming against women, and compares him to 'the Priest which forgot he was Parish clearke' (F3<sup>v</sup>), the marginal note reads: 'you have forgott [that] you are a preist daughter, for instead of preachinge you rayle right downe'. Earlier on, when Speght wrote that 'Minority bids me keepe within my bounds' (B2<sup>r</sup>), her critic had already decided: 'shee cannot choose but rayle doe what she can', and concludes that the muzzle which she intended for Swetnam 'would verie well have fitted your mouth in many places of this booke'.

Speght is also accused of having cheapened herself in print. Her critic notes that she is 'by reason of [her] publique booke now not soe good as com[m]on' (B2<sup>v</sup>). In Mortalities Memorandum, Speght had commented on the critics of A Mouzell for Melastomus:

Their variety of verdicts have verified the adagie quod homines, tot sententiae, and made my experience confirme that apophthegme which doth affirme censure to be inevitable to a publique Act. (A2<sup>v</sup>)

Interestingly enough, the annotator of A Mouzell for Melastomus comments on both Rachel Speght and Joseph Swetnam. When Speght calls Swetnam a 'Rayler' who 'shall not inherit Gods Kingdome', and leaves him to 'the mercie of that just Judge, who is able to save and to destroy' (B3<sup>v</sup>), he notes 'God have mercie on yea both; & make yea his servants; for sure, neither booke hath a better owner'. He strikes a lighter note when Speght signs her epistle to Swetnam 'your undeserved friend'; 'kisse & bee friends' is his response.

This seems to indicate not only that he had read The Araignment of Women, but also that he was not very appreciative of its author. Throughout his annotations, however, Speght's critic appears willing to defend Swetnam. This is most notable when Speght mocks Swetnam's ignorance of basic grammar, resulting in a lack of concord in many places of The Araignment of Women. She quotes an example: 'you count it wonderfull to see the mad feates of women,

for shee will now bee merry, then sad'. Her annotator snorts: 'Now [the] foole rides you, for that was [the] printers fault in puttinge in woemen for woman' (F4<sup>r</sup>), which appears to be a knowledge of compositorial errors combined with the desire to ridicule Speght in turn. Again, when Speght calls Swetnam 'an hypocrite in Print' (B3<sup>r</sup>), he notes: 'You should rather have absolved him, then to have given this harde sentence against him: for hee deals with woemen, as woemen doe [with] their children: to make good, yet are they loath to greeve them, and many times their handes walke against their hearts'.

Not surprisingly, the annotator displays a marked misogynist bent of mind in his comments. When Speght attacks Swetnam for condemning the good with the bad, he firmly notes: 'there is not one that either is, or doth good; noe not one' (E1<sup>v</sup>). In a lengthier note, provoked by Speght's observation that 'That worke [i.e. woman] then cannot chuse but to bee good, yea very good, which is wrought by so excellent a workeman as the Lord' (D1<sup>r</sup>), he remarks:

That worke then can not chuse butt bee badd, yea verie [which] woeman hath wronged herselfe: for since he framed them, shee hath put new colours of white and red upon her face, sett in new teethe: either weare not her owne naturall haire; or if itt bee, itt is soe powdered soe perfumed [that], as shee thinks, shee hath much mended her creatours worke. Had theie thrived as theie weare at [the] first created, they had been excellent: butt manie are soe changed in face, that you shall scarce knowe them from a pa[inting].<sup>73</sup>

Likewise, when Speght touches on the excellence of woman in her creation ('All was very good', she begins), he remarks in the same vein: 'All was verie good, but since [the] creation; woeman hath mismade & misform'd herself, & that is not very good' (C2<sup>r</sup>). His remarks on the Fall are entirely in line with traditional misogynist thought: 'the Devill trusted himselfe to bee to weake [to deceive Adam] & therefore sett [the] woeman to deceive [the] man, whoe is much more cunning to deceive, then [the] Devill' (C2<sup>v</sup>). He comments on women's first ancestor: 'Eve first threw herselfe into [the] fire, and pulled Adam after her' (C3<sup>r</sup>).

He is not convinced by Speght's enumeration of good women from the Bible: 'you com[m]ende those, which never anie discom[m]ended, butt sett mee forthe such a woeman as any of these now Livinge' (D2<sup>r</sup>). When Speght further on again has occasion to quote examples of virtuous biblical women he once more demands a list of contemporary paragons of virtue: 'still you bring in examples of [the] days of olde, but itt is not sayde that they were then soe

[bad]; Butt you must parl of those [which] now live, are soe' (F3<sup>v</sup>). With the inconsistency that seems to mark every misogynist, however, he is content to invoke biblical authority himself: 'A man may with Scripture reprove weomen: for in many places they are sett forth in their colours' (E2<sup>v</sup>).

The anonymous commentator on A Mouzell for Melastomus comments sarcastically on Speght's supposedly self-advertising disposition in wanting to appear in print, while the scurrilous comments on the commendatory poems prefixed to A Mouzell for Melastomus are further proof of his dislike of this young female author and her well-wishers. His comments are never good-natured; and the abundance and nature of the annotations perhaps suggest that he was considering a printed response to A Mouzell for Melastomus.

Three facts in particular seem to have been decisive for this critic's response: that Speght was a woman, that she was unmarried, and that she was a 'Ministers daughter'. That it was unusual for a woman to publicly defy a detractor of women, and so attract public attention, seems to have motivated her critic in several places. That he also thought it presumptuous for a young unmarried woman to discuss the state of matrimony, which is part of her defence of woman's status, would appear from his facetious remarks on D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>. Speght's arguments are commonplace considerations in the discussion of matrimony as a desirable state. The nature of these arguments was not unusual, but what this critic seems to have found remarkable is that they were put forward by a young unmarried woman. Finally, his censure of the 'Preist daughter' who does not preach but rail would seem to indicate that this annotator did not think it right for a clergyman's daughter to act as a champion of her sex.

### 3.3 Ester Sovernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman

Ester hath hang'd Haman was entered in the Stationers' Registers on 4 January 1617, less than two months after Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus.<sup>74</sup> In the first dedicatory epistle, Sovernam informs her audience that she was in the process of writing a response to The Araignment of Women when 'word was brought mee that an Apologie for women was already undertaken, and ready for the Presse, by a Ministers daughter' (A2<sup>v</sup>).<sup>75</sup> When Speght's response was delivered to her, and scanned, Sovernam found it sadly lacking, and decided to continue her own response:

At last the Maidens Booke was brought me, which when I had likewise runne over, I did observe, that whereas the Maide

doth many times excuse her tendernesse of yeares, I found it to be true in the slenderesse of her answer, for she undertaking to defend women, doth rather charge and condemne women, as in the ensuing discourse shall appeare: So that whereas I expected to be eased of what I began, I do now finde my selfe double charged, as well as to make reply to the one, as to adde supply to the other. (A2<sup>r</sup>)

Sowernam's criticism was resented by Speght, who, as has been noted before, considered Sowernam to be a 'self-conceited Creature' in her poem Mortalities Memorandum. Speght's painstaking distinctions between the good and bad sort of women, and her discussion of women as sinners in the first part of A Mouzell for Melastomus did not suit the purpose of a traditional defence. Sowernam herself is much more sweeping in her comments on women.

Sowernam presents herself to her audience as a country gentlewoman, up from the country for Michaelmas term. The flocking of country wives to London in the company of their husbands was a common practice which did not pass unnoticed or uncensured. John Chamberlain writes to Dudley Carleton about the death of Anne Webb, the daughter of Rowland Lytton, a mutual friend of theirs:

She was growne a very proper woman, but loved this town too well, which in short time would have drawne her and her husband drie, as well in purse as in reputation; for though I held her and assure myself that she was honest and virtuous, yet some courses and companie she kept began to breed speach.<sup>76</sup>

James I eventually attempted to curb the practice by royal proclamation after Michaelmas term of 1622. The proclamation imposed fines on husbands who continued to bring their wives and families with them to London. John Chamberlain, who mentions the proclamation in a letter to Dudley Carleton, suggests it is issued to avoid the inflation of prices in London during term time.<sup>77</sup> It is not certain whether Sowernam, who after all published under a pseudonym,<sup>78</sup> is genuine in her presentation of herself as a fashionable country gentlewoman. It may also have been an attempt on the part of the author, whether male or female, to provide herself with an ambiguous status - the author of Muld Sacke, who wrote a response to Hic Mulier, a pamphlet denouncing the fashion for women to dress in men's attire, made such a defiant gesture when she concluded her response with 'And so (because I must make mee unready and go to a Maske) I bid you goodnight'.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, if the presence of country gentlewomen up for the term time was questionable at the time of publication of Ester hath hang'd Haman, and Ester Sowernam a persona

and not an existing lady, there is a certain ambiguity to the author's presentation of herself.

Equally ambiguous is Sowernam's reference to herself on the title-page of Ester hath hang'd Haman as 'neither Maide, Wife, nor Widdowe, yet really all, and therefore experienced to defend all'. Unless Sowernam intended to present herself as the epitome of the female sex, the phrase is hard to explain, and the common implication rather unfavourable. Swetnam calls upon young 'wantons', who have made themselves 'neither Mayds, Widows, nor Wives' (E2<sup>r</sup>) to repent, and likewise in Measure for Measure, when Mariana is brought before the Duke, and her status questioned, Lucio quips: 'My Lord, she may be a punk, for many of them are neither maid, widow, nor wife'. Sowernam, while reading The Arraignement of Women, cannot have been unaware of the dubious status of a woman who was 'neither maid, wife, nor widow'. Again, she may have wished to defy traditional views on women.

The title-page of Ester hath hang'd Haman promises an 'arraignment of lewd, idle, froward, and unconstant men and Husbands', in an obvious imitation of The Arraignement of Women. Another echo of The Arraignement of Women is found in the second dedicatory epistle, which is addressed to 'all worthy and hopefull young youths of Great-Brittaine; But respectively to the best disposed and worthy Apprentices of London' (A3<sup>v</sup>), where Swetnam's second epistle was dedicated, less diplomatically, to 'the ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men' (A4<sup>r</sup>).<sup>80</sup> Sowernam appeals to the valour of apprentices, and in doing so she displays an awareness of the tradition of the apprentice-hero in popular contemporary literature:<sup>81</sup>

you my worthy youths are the hope of Man-hoode, the principall poynt of Man-hoode is to defend, and what more Man-like defence, then to defend the just reputation of a woman. I know that you the Apprentices of this Citie are as forward to maintaine the good, as you are vehement to put downe the bad. (A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>)

The tone of this dedicatory epistle is altogether reminiscent of a lawyer presenting his case before an audience:

The Author of the Arraignement, and my selfe, in our labours doe altogether disagree; he railleth without cause, I defend upon direct prooffe: He saith, women are the worst of Creatures, I proove them blessed above all Creatures. He writeth, that men should abhorre them for their bad conditions: I prove, that men should honour them for their best dispositions: he saith, women are the causes of mens overthrow, I proove; if there be any offence in a woman, men were the beginners. (A3<sup>v</sup>)

The legal methaphor culminates in the mock-trial of Joseph Swetnam in chapters 5-7 of Ester hath hang'd Haman. The second dedicatory epistle ends with a repetition of John 8:7, reproduced on the title-page: 'He that is without sinne throw the first stone at her' (A4<sup>v</sup>); in the trial of Joseph Swetnam, Conscience is likewise the witness for the prosecution.<sup>82</sup>

The first five chapters of Ester hath hang'd Haman are much more closely related to the formal defence than Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus. Sowernam traditionally observes that if Swetnam had performed what he promised to do, 'to give vice just reproofe, and vertue honourable report' (B1<sup>r</sup>), censure would have been inappropriate. Instead, because of the blasphemous nature of The Araignment of Women, Sowernam is forced to defend both women and 'divine Majestie, in the worke of his Creation' (B1<sup>r</sup>). Like Speght, Sowernam makes an issue out of Swetnam's illogicality, but unlike Speght, Sowernam attempts to draw a laugh from the audience:

He runneth on, and saith, They were made of a Rib, and that their froward and crooked nature doth declare, for a Rib is a crooked thing, &c. [B1<sup>r</sup>]

Woman was made of a crooked rib, so she is crooked of conditions. Joseph Swetnam was made as from Adam of clay and dust, so he is of a durty and muddy disposition: The inferences are both alike in either; woman is no more crooked, in respect of the one; but he is blasphemous in respect of the other. (B2<sup>r</sup>)<sup>83</sup>

Like Speght, Sowernam undertakes a general defence of women before entering on the particulars of The Araignment of Women. But Sowernam's defence is much more traditional than Speght's. She intends to discuss 'what incomparable and excellent prerogatives God hath bestowed upon women, in their first Creation' (chapter 2), 'what choise God hath made of women to be instruments to derive his benefit to mankinde' (chapter 3), 'what excellent blessings and graces have been bestowed upon women in the Lawe of Grace' (chapter 4), and finally, 'at what estimate women were valued in ancient and former times' (chapter 5). Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are taken up with examples of virtuous women taken from respectively the Old and New Testament, classical and English history. These lists are a familiar feature of the formal defence.<sup>84</sup> The second chapter is closest to Speght's defence of women, and Sowernam duly acknowledges her predecessor in the Swetnam controversy.<sup>85</sup> But Sowernam, unlike Speght, is determined to make the most of her defence of women, as she herself admits: 'I have undertaken the defence of women, and may in that respect be favoured, in taking all advantages I may, to defend my sexe' (B4<sup>v</sup>). Her purpose is

demonstrated in her discussion of the punishment meted out to women after the Fall, an irksome subject for any apologist for women:

She is commanded to obey her husband; the cause is, the more to encrease her glorie. Obedience is better then Sacrifice; for nothing is more acceptable before God then to obey: women are much bound to God, to have so acceptable a vertue enjoyed them for their pennance. (C1<sup>v</sup>-C2<sup>r</sup>)

The last chapters of Ester hath hang'd Haman are directly concerned with Joseph Swetnam and The Arraignment of Women. In his person, all 'idle, franticke, froward, and lewd men' (E2<sup>r</sup>) are arraigned. The arraignment of Joseph Swetnam mirrors his own arraignment of women:

as he had arraigned women at the barre of fame, and report, wee resolved him at the same barre where he did us wrong, to arraigne him, that thereby we might defend our assured right. (E2<sup>rv</sup>)

The two judges in the trial are Reason and Experience; these two combined are sufficient forces against the slanders brought forward by detractors of women.<sup>86</sup> Swetnam's jury consists of his five senses and the seven deadly sins, 'his dearest, and nearest inward familiar friends, in whose company he was ever, and did spend upon them all that he cou'd get, or devise to get' (E2<sup>v</sup>). Swetnam's own conscience is challenged to bring in evidence against himself. After the preparations for the trial, the indictment is read, which identifies Swetnam as one of the frantic rabble of popular pamphleteers:

Joseph Swetnam, thou art endited by the name of Joseph Swetnam of Bedlemmore, in the countie of Onopolie: For that thou the twentieth day of December, in the yeare &c. Diddest most wickedly, blasphemously, falsly, and scandalously publish a lewd Pamphlet, entitled the Arraignment of Women [...]. When Joseph Swetnam was asked what he said to this enditement, Guilty, or not guiltie, hee pleaded the generall issue, not guiltie, being asked how hee would be tryed, he stood mute, for Conscience did so confront him, that he knew upon tryall there was no way out. (E3<sup>v</sup>)

Swetnam's trial is suspended because the plaintiffs, Reason and Experience, are also the judges, to which Swetnam objects on the grounds of partiality.

The mock-trial in Ester hath hang'd Haman may have inspired the sub-plot for the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women. The close correspondence between this part of Ester hath hang'd Haman and the play is striking. Before his indictment is read, Swetnam is brought before the bar, 'where he was called and bid hold up his hand, which hee did, but a false hand God he knowes, his enditement was read, which was this which followeth'



(E3<sup>r</sup>). The woodcut on the title-page of the play features exactly this scene, with Swetnam holding up his hand, while a female prosecutor is about to read his indictment. This scene was obviously an appealing one, and it links the trial scene of Ester hath hang'd Haman and The Araignment of Women to the play. It is unlikely however that the trial of Joseph Swetnam in Ester Sowernam's response served as a possible 'promotion' of the forthcoming play.<sup>87</sup>

In Ester hath hang'd Haman, the actual trial never takes place, but Sowernam is called upon to deliver an 'answere to all objections which are materiall, made against women' (E4<sup>r</sup>) before the jury and judges. Sowernam begins with the familiar observation that

it hath ever beene a common custome amongst Idle, and humerous Poets, Pamphleters, and Rimers, out of passionate discontents, or having little otherwise to imploy themselves about, to write some bitter Satire-Pamphlet, or Rime, against women [...] which [...] hath never wanted the liking, allowance, and applause of giddy headed people. (E4<sup>rv</sup>)<sup>88</sup>

Swetnam belongs to the rank and file of these idle pamphleteers yet, 'seeing his booke so commonly bought up, which argueth a generall applause', it is necessary to react, since 'our silence might implead us for guiltie, so would his Pamphlet be received with a greater currant and credite then formerly it hath beene' (E4<sup>v</sup>). This admission of the popularity of The Araignment of Women would at the same time seem to provide a commercial motive for the publication of Ester hath hang'd Haman: the author of the second response in the controversy may have wished to cash in on the stir The Araignment of Women had caused. Of the three responses, Ester hath hang'd Haman is the most market-conscious, with its appeal to apprentices and other allusions to the London literary scene.

Like Speght before her and Constantia Munda after her, Sowernam ridicules Swetnam's manifest lack of education, and so places herself in a different league from Swetnam:

alas, seely man he objecteth nothing but what he hath stolne out of English writers, as Euphues, the Palace of Pleasure, with the like, which are as easily answered as vaynly objected. He never read the vehement and profest enemies against our sexe, as for Graecians, Euripides, Menander, Simonides, Sophocles, with the like, amongst Latine writers Juvenall, Plautus, &c. (E4<sup>v</sup>)<sup>89</sup>

In the last part of Ester hath hang'd Haman, Sowernam employs the common tactics of the formal defence. On the one hand she demonstrates that the

detractors of women are really guilty themselves of the offences they impute to women only, and on the other hand she turns Swetnam's arguments against himself.<sup>90</sup> She writes, in a passage reminiscent of Jane Anger her Protection for Women:<sup>91</sup>

Some will pretend marriage, another continuall maintenance, but when they have obtained their purpose, what shall a woman finde, just that which is her everlasting shame and grieve, shee hath made her selfe the unhappie subject to a lustfull bodie, and the shamefull stall of a lascivious tongue. Men may with foule shame charge women with this sinne which she had never committed if she had not trusted. (G3<sup>r</sup>)

As the title of her response already indicates, turning back Swetnam's arguments on himself is Sowerham's major concern:

In your first and second Page, you alleadge David and Salomon, for exclaiming bitterly against women: And that Salomon saith, Women (like as wine) doe make men drunke with their devices. [B1<sup>v</sup>] What of all this?

Joseph Swetnam, a man which hath reason, will never object that unto his adversary, which when it commeth to examination will disadvantage men. Your meaning is, in the disgrace of women to exalt men; but is this any commendation to men, that they have been and are over-reacht by women? [...] can you excuse that fall which is given by the weaker? [...] is holinesse, wisdom, and strength, so slightly seated in your Masculine gender, as to be stained, blemished and subdued by women?'. (F2<sup>r</sup>)

Men are charged with the vanity which they commonly attribute to women only: 'Doe not men exceede in apparell, and therein set themselves out to the view?' (F3<sup>v</sup>). Here Sowerham shows that she is conversant with the portrayal of the character of the city gallant or country fop as presented on the London stage and in popular pamphlets:

We see him gallant it at the Court one day, & brave it in the Counter the next day; we see him weare that on his backe one week, which we heare is in the brokers shop the next: furthermore we see divers weare apparell and colours made of a Lordship, lined with Farnes and Granges, embrodered with all the plate, gold, and wealth, their Friends and Fathers gave them: Are these motives to love or laughter?'. (F3<sup>v</sup>-F4<sup>r</sup>)<sup>92</sup>

The author of Ester hath hang'd Haman is more familiar with literary conventions and literary currents than Rachel Speght. This is evident in her reliance on features of the formal defence in chapters 3-5, in her address to the apprentices of London, which leans on the tradition of the 'apprentice-hero' (and also caters for the London market), and in her inclusion of the

'gallant', a Character in non-dramatic literature, and already a recognisable figure on the stage (the references to Court and Counter [Compter] also place this passage in a London context). At the same time the mock-trial of Joseph Swetnam leads the controversy away from the rather earnest opening moves made by Rachel Speght and plants it in the field of literary controversy. The addition of a poem, 'A Defence of Women', signed 'Joane Sharpe', which recapitulates the contents of Ester hath hang'd Haman,<sup>93</sup> relegates The Araignment of Women to the lower reaches of popular literature:

An idle companion was raging of late,  
Who in furie 'gainst Women expresseth his hate:  
Hee writeth a Booke, an Araignment he calleth,  
I[n] which against women hee currishly bawleth.  
He deserveth no answer but in Ballat or Ryme. (H1<sup>r</sup>)

Joane Sharpe's attack on the 'idle companion' who wrote The Araignment of Women calls to mind Samuel Rowlands's reference to the 'prating fellow' of his poem The Bride (see 2.2.3).

The last, and most abusive, answer to Swetnam was again a prose response.

### 3.4 Constantia Munda's The Worming of a mad Dogge

The Worming of a mad Dogge, the third and last response in the controversy, was entered in the Stationers' Registers on 19 April 1617, some three months after Ester hath hang'd Haman.<sup>94</sup> The author published under the pseudonym of Constantia Munda, and like Ester Sowernam before her, Constantia Munda presents herself as a woman, a 'Ladies daughter'. In a dedicatory poem addressed to 'The Right Worshipfull Lady her most deare Mother, the Lady Prudentia Munda',<sup>95</sup> Constantia pays tribute to Prudentia:

Although this is a toy scarce worth your view,  
Yet deigne to reade it, and accept in lieu  
Of greater dutie, for your gracious looke  
Is a sufficient Patrone to my booke.  
This is the worst disgrace that can be had.  
A Ladies Daughter worm'd a dog that's mad. (\*3<sup>v</sup>)

The title-page describes The Worming of a mad Dogge as 'No Confutation but a sharpe Redargution'. The reason for this is that a thorough examination has been pre-empted by the two previous responses: 'these bookes which have of late come out (the latter whereof hath prevented me in the designes I purposed in running over your handi-worke) are like so many red-hot irons to stigmatise thy name with the brand of a hideous blasphemer and incarnate

The Worming of a mad Dogge is remarkable for its capacity for abuse. It is a sustained invective against the 'ignorance and impudence' of Joseph Swetnam, sometimes slipping into detached ridicule, but always contemptuous and condescending. The pose which Constantia Munda strikes is that of the highbrow reader who is irked to see the printing press swamped with low and vulgar products. She opens The Worming of a mad Dogge with a general complaint against

The itching desire of oppressing the presse with many sottish and illiterate Libels, stuf with all manner of ribaldry, and sordid inventions [which] hath broken out into such a dismall contagion in these our dayes, that every scandalous tongue and opprobrious witte [...] will advance their pedling wares of detracting virulence in the publique Piatza of every Stationers shoppe. And Printing that was invented to be the store-house of famous wits, the treasure of Divine literature, the pandect and maintainer of all Sciences, is become the receptacle of every dissolute Pamphlet'. (B2<sup>r</sup>)<sup>97</sup>

Ester Sowernam had already referred specifically to the 'common custome amongst Idle, and humerous Poets, Pamphleters, and Rimers' (E4<sup>r</sup>) to abuse the female sex in their attacks, and Constantia Munda, although she too considers the 'pedling wares of detracting virulence', sets her own response to Swetnam within the larger framework of the overflowing of the printing press, once a venerable institution, with base and poorly-written products, aimed at the lower end of the market. The Araignment of Women is such a sottish and illiterate libel, and Swetnam a writer who abjectly panders to the taste of the vulgar: 'it is alwaies the badge and cognisance of a degenerous and illiberal disposition to bee ambitious of that base and ignoble applause, proceeding from the giddy-headed Plebeians' (D3<sup>v</sup>). For his efforts, Swetnam is 'extold amongst clownes and fooles only' (F2<sup>r</sup>).

Like her two predecessors in the controversy, Constantia Munda censures Swetnam's unqualified attack on women, although, in keeping with her status as a 'Ladies daughter', she pretends to be particularly nettled by his sweeping condemnation of both high-born and low-born: 'none either good or bad, faire or foule, of what estate soever, of what parentage or royall descent soever and lineage soever, how well soever nurtured and qualified, shall scape thee' (C4<sup>r</sup>).<sup>98</sup> Although Constantia Munda pays passing attention to the excellency of women in their creation,<sup>99</sup> briefly touches on the renown of female charity, and condemns The Araignment of Women as disproportionate to the occasion - 'a pelting injurie should not provoke an opprobrious

calumnies' (C2<sup>r</sup>) - all of which are familiar aspects of the formal defence, she offers no real defence of women.<sup>100</sup> She professes she could be 'infinite to produce examples and symbols to make [Swetnam] a liar in print', but this is not her main interest. After a brief enumeration of the sayings of philosophers in favour of marriage she desists with a scornful 'but tis wasting paper to reckon up these obvious sayings' (E4<sup>r</sup>). Constantia Munda characteristically dismisses the genre of satires against women as that 'triviall subject of every shackle that can but put penne to paper' (D4<sup>r</sup>). Swetnam's contribution to this trivial subject she considers a testimony to his ineffectualness, as when she addresses him contemptuously:

lets have a parle with you. What if you had cause to bee offended with some (as I cannot excuse all) must you needes shoot your paper-pellets out of your potgun-pate at all women? (C1<sup>r</sup>)

The impudence with which Swetnam attacks all women provokes both ridicule and rage. The offence which she dismisses as 'paper pellets' is at the same time rejected in much stronger terms when she too employs the legal metaphors of arrest and trial:

wee will manicle your dissolute fist, that you deale not your blowes so unadvisedly [...]. Know therefore that wee will cancell your accusations, travers your bills, and come upon you for a false inditement. (B4<sup>v</sup>)

She returns to this theme when she imagines that although Swetnam is not 'apprehended and attached for [his] villany I might say felonie, before a corporall judge, yet thine own conscience if it be not seared up, tortures thee, and wracks thy tempestuous minde with a dissolution and whurring to and fro of thy scandalous name' (D3<sup>r</sup>). The public trial of Joseph Swetnam is substituted by the private trial of conscience, and Swetnam's conscience will be tortured by the awareness that his name shall be a 'hissing, and a by-word to the learned and judicious' (F2<sup>r</sup>).

In her response, Constantia Munda continues to vacillate between abuse and ridicule. When she considers The Araignment of Women specifically, she allows herself the detached ridicule that is proportionate to the poor quality of Swetnam's attack. Romping through Swetnam's two dedicatory epistles, she picks up phrases and throws them back at Swetnam: 'Certainly you mis-spent your time in your travels: for it had been more profitable for you if you had brought dogges from Iceland [A3<sup>v</sup>]; better for your Countrey, if you had kept a dogge there still' (C3<sup>v</sup>). Her ridicule strips Swetnam of all vestiges of

common sense: 'You promise your spectators the Beare-bayting of women, and yet you thinke it not amisse to drive all women out of your hearing; so that none but your selfe the ill-favoured Hunckes is left in the Beare-garden to make your invited guests merry' (E1<sup>V</sup>-E2<sup>F</sup>).

When she considers the ignorance of Joseph Swetnam, her educated contempt again swells to sarcastic proportions. Swetnam's The Araignment of Women is a rag-bag in which he has collected

the scraps, fragments, and reversions of English phrases, by scraping together the glaunders and offalls of abusive termes, and the refuse of idle-headed Authors, and making a mangle-mangle gallimauphrie of them. Lord! how you have cudgeld your braines in gleaning multitudes of similies as twere in the field of many writers. (D4<sup>F</sup>)

And even in his selection of the 'off-scowrings of other writers' (D4<sup>V</sup>), he has failed to observe order:

you bring a great heape of stony rubbish comparisons one upon the necke of another, but they concur to no more sense, then a company of stones to a building without mortar [...] your hard and dull pate hath collected nothing that can stand together with common sense, or be pleasing to any refined disposition. (D4<sup>V</sup>)

In his confused allusions to the classical philosophers, Swetnam also displays his essential ignorance. Constantia Munda exposes his

pitifully wronging of the Philosophers, as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, &c. whom your illiterate and clownish muse never was so happy to know whether they wrote any thing or no. Your ethnicke histories, although they rather make against men then women, yet in your relation you most palpably mistake, and tell one thing for another as of Holofernes, Antiochus, Hannibal, Socrates and the rest. (E3<sup>V</sup>)

Constantia Munda may have been aware that Swetnam had derived his classical anecdotes from compendia of wisdom. At any rate, she denies him a sense of the context in which the historical anecdotes to which he refers originated. Although all three respondents make much of Swetnam's ignorance, it is Constantia Munda's The Worming of a mad Dogge which from the beginning places Swetnam's attack in the larger category of illiterate popular products.

Constantia Munda herself displays her classical learning throughout The Worming of a mad Dogge. She quotes and translates from Greek and Latin authors, among whom Virgil, Cicero, Seneca, Ovid, Horace, Homer, Euripides and Sophocles. She also quotes from the Latin satirists Juvenal, Persius and Martial.<sup>101</sup> She calls Juvenal an 'ingenious Satyrist' (C2<sup>F</sup>),<sup>102</sup> yet a little

later brands him as 'that Pagan Poet, whose indignation made verses, whose filthy reprehension opened the doores of unbridled luxurie, and gave a president of all admired wickednesse, and brutish sensualitie, to succeeding ages' (C2<sup>r</sup>).<sup>103</sup> Constantia Munda quotes from Juvenal's sixth satire against women. It is remarkable that she should also quote Martial, since his marred reputation makes him rather liberal reading for a woman - or for an author who poses as one. The quotations from Martial's epigrams are incidental, and there are no marginal references to him, but the fact that Constantia Munda was familiar with his epigrams as well as with the notorious Juvenalian satire against women is noteworthy.<sup>104</sup> A judicious selection of Martial's epigrams formed part of the curriculum of the upper form in grammar schools, but he was not offered to the pupils wholesale, for reasons expressed by Thomas Becon in 1560: 'Some writers in many places of their works are wanton and dishonest, as Martialis, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Cornelius Gallus, and such like [...]. From the reading of these and such-like filthy writers, is convenient that the youth do abstain; lest by the reading of them they make shipwreck both of their faith and manners'.<sup>105</sup>

Ester Sowernam's references to classical writers who then had a reputation for misogyny, Euripides, Menander, Simonides, Sophocles, Juvenal and Plautus, as well as Constantia Munda's familiarity with Juvenal's sixth satire, make both Ester hath hang'd Haman and The Worming of a mad Dogge either suspect or remarkable as genuine contributions by females. At a time when the provision of education for women was sometimes compared to handing a club to a madman, or, more seriously, the list of classical authors available to women was traditionally curtailed on the grounds of propriety,<sup>106</sup> Constantia Munda's frank references to Juvenal's sixth satire provides either an indication of male rather than female authorship, or a remarkable footnote to the history of women's reading in the early seventeenth century.

Constantia Munda also refers to contemporary sources. She quotes 'great Scaliger' on Juvenal (C2<sup>r</sup>), mentions romances as part of 'Don Quixotes Library' (D4<sup>v</sup>), discusses Thomas Coryate's adventures in Venice, published in his Coryates Crudities, and refers to Benvenuto's Il Passagiere, all of which had a sophisticated appeal.<sup>107</sup> The last three works had come out in London some five years before The Worming of a mad Dogge appeared. She is the only one of the three respondents to introduce such specific up-to-date literary references. Constantia Munda's prose-style is also more 'literary' than that of her predecessors. She introduces a number of neologisms, while other words

in the vocabulary of The Worming of a mad Dogge appear to have been of recent coinage.<sup>108</sup>

The Worming of a mad Dogge is a continuous exercise in vituperation. Constantia Munda may have been stimulated to write a response to The Araignment of Women because of the apparent commotion around Joseph Swetnam and his attack. It does not seem likely that this response was planned to appear in a series; there is no evidence that the publisher, Laurence Hayes, was ever in partnership with either Nicholas Bourne, who published Ester hath hang'd Haman, or Thomas Archer, who brought out A Mouzell for Melastomus. The Worming of a mad Dogge is Laurence Hayes's first entry in the Stationers' Registers, and for a long time it remained his only entry.<sup>109</sup> He appears to have been a bookseller rather than a publisher, so that it is not likely that he wanted to launch his publishing career with a timely rejoinder to a notorious pamphlet. It is more likely that the manuscript of The Worming of a mad Dogge was offered to Hayes.

### 3.5 Conclusion

The role of the publishers of the various responses in the controversy should perhaps be considered in trying to determine whether the controversy was a 'spontaneous' incident in the aftermath of the reception of The Araignment of Women, or a planned series of responses. The commercial interest of the publisher John Trundle, for example, seems to have been a ruling factor in another minor woman controversy in 1620,<sup>110</sup> and so it is interesting to speculate whether the several publishers involved in the Swetnam controversy, Thomas Archer for A Mouzell for Melastomus, Nicholas Bourne for Ester hath hang'd Haman, and Laurence Hayes for The Worming of a mad Dogge, organised a controversy to promote The Araignment of Women. Although Archer had originally published The Araignment of Women, it seems unlikely that he arranged a response to be written to boost The Araignment of Women. Rachel Speght would have been an unlikely choice as an author, and the publishing career of Thomas Archer, discussed in the following chapter, makes it clear that he was not the sort of publisher who carried out an active publishing policy: he published whatever would sell, or was likely to sell, and would not have spent much financial effort on 'reviving' a copy which was unprofitable. Moreover, the fact of a reprint within the year of first publication, followed by another reprint in 1616, is sufficient proof that



copies of The Araignment of Women sold well enough without external promotion. There is also no indication of a partnership between Thomas Archer and Nicholas Bourne at this stage, and Laurence Hayes does not appear to have been associated with either. Since Thomas Archer was the owner of the copy of The Araignment of Women, there is also no reason to assume that Bourne and Hayes were involved in the promotion of a commercial controversy around The Araignment of Women. The three responses would seem to have been published independently.

If there was no concerted effort on the part of the publishers to arrange a controversy, Joseph Swetnam and The Araignment of Women alone would seem to have elicited the three responses. Swetnam's three opponents claim to have been provoked by the popular success of the essentially blasphemous Araignment of Women. Rachel Speght felt a reply was in order since otherwise 'the vulgar ignorant might have beleev'd his Diabolicall infamies to be infallible truths, not to bee infringed' (A3<sup>V</sup>). Ester Sowernam does not refer to the 'vulgar ignorant' in such explicit terms, but she also comments on the dubious popularity of Joseph Swetnam: 'good I know you can get none. You have (perhaps) pleased the humors of some giddy, idle conceited persons: But you have died your selfe in the colours of shame, lying, slandering, blasphemie, ignorance, and the like' (G4<sup>r</sup>). Constantia Munda picks up this theme in one of her many tirades against Swetnam: 'Thou that art extold amongst clownes and fooles, shalt be a hissing, and a by-word, to the learned and judicious' (F2<sup>r</sup>).

These protestations are not in themselves reliable or very useful because they could be considered as traditional preambles to or arguments in defences of women. To gauge the real impact of The Araignment of Women in terms of the actual responses is also highly speculative. What can be stated with some amount of certainty is that Rachel Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus does not fall within the context of the formal defence, and that, considering her status in life, and her strong religious views as expressed in her two extant works, it may perhaps be assumed that she did not respond to The Araignment of Women in order to initiate a literary controversy. Ester Sowernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman answers to a much larger extent to the profile of the formal defence, while its mock-trial of Joseph Swetnam, which finds a reflection in the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, would seem to carry the controversy on to a more literary level. The highly vituperative and learned The Worming of a mad Dogge, which dismisses attacks

on women as a 'trivial subject' while at the same time launching an all-out and very successful effort to discredit Joseph Swetnam and The Araignment of Women, seems farthest removed from any 'serious' involvement in the controversy.

The responses do not appeal to the 'vulgar ignorant', or the popular reading public, in the way The Araignment of Women did, with the possible exception of Ester hath hang'd Haman, which is addressed to the London apprentices. A Mouzell for Melastomus would seem to be a straightforward response, without the entertainment value which Ester hath hang'd Haman, by reason of the mock-trial of Joseph Swetnam, offers. The mockery contained in The Worming of a mad Dogge, with its insistence on Swetnam's ignorance, appeals to an educated public rather than the 'sillie swaines' to whom Constantia Munda contemptuously refers.

If the three responses on the one hand and The Araignment of Women on the other hand catered for different sections of the reading public, and the three respondents so obviously find the educational status of Swetnam beneath serious consideration, the question remains why an illiterate attack on women should provoke such consternation in print. The popularity of The Araignment of Women was a matter of concern for Rachel Speght, and probably an incentive for the other two respondents. The uneven quality of The Araignment of Women, combined with the demonstrable ignorance of Joseph Swetnam, certainly roused the educated contempt of Constantia Munda. By comparison, A Discourse of the Married and Single Life. Wherein, By Discovering the Misery of the one, is plainly declared the felicity of the other, published anonymously in 1621, a sustained, but even more virulent attack on women,<sup>111</sup> appears to have evoked no direct response whatsoever. It would seem that in the case of The Araignment of Women the known identity of the author, combined with his palpable ignorance and arrogance, acted as a stimulus for Ester Sowernam and Constantia Munda. They may also have been interested in writing a response to The Araignment of Women because one was already in print - making A Mouzell for Melastomus the original snowball. Ester Sowernam attacks Rachel Speght in Ester hath hang'd Haman, while Constantia Munda praises both her and Ester Sowernam. Constantia Munda in particular seems to be enjoying herself, and this last respondent may have wanted to share in the fun of the controversy. The only serious contribution to the controversy would seem to come from Rachel Speght. In her case, it may have been her individual temperament which found offensive that which others found laughable.

**The publishing history of The Araignment of Lewd,  
Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women**

**4.1 Introduction**

The following account of the publishing history of The Araignment of Women is written to place Swetnam's attack in the context of the output of the various stationers who successively owned the copy of The Araignment of Women. The assumption here is that a survey of their publishing careers will throw some light on the market for which they catered,<sup>1</sup> and as a result, will make clear the status of The Araignment of Women as a satirical attack on women. The responses which The Araignment of Women provoked will also be briefly discussed in this light. The majority of the stationers involved catered for the popular book market, which makes it likely that The Araignment of Women can be classed in the category of popular entertainment.

**4.2 English editions**

The Araignment of Women was entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company on 8 February 1615 to Thomas Archer.<sup>2</sup> By 1615 Archer, then established in his shop at Pope's Head Alley near the Royal Exchange, had been in business as a bookseller and publisher for twelve years. He had been apprenticed to Cuthbert Burby, who made him free of the Company on 15 January 1603, and at the same time paid a fine for the common offence of having kept Archer unrepresented during the term of his apprenticeship.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Archer's publishing career spans the reign of James I and the early years of the reign of Charles I. His first entry in the Registers occurs on 4 February 1603,<sup>4</sup> only two weeks after he had attained his freedom. His last book entry was made on 4 December 1624,<sup>5</sup> while the last recorded STC item in Archer's output is an edition of The Araignment of Women.<sup>6</sup>

Archer's name occurs only intermittently in the Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company. Like his former master, Cuthbert Burby, he was fined for keeping an apprentice 'contrary to order',<sup>7</sup> although this is Archer's only recorded offence against the Star Chamber decree of 1586 limiting the number of apprentices to be kept by any of the Company's printers.<sup>8</sup>

Archer's infringement of another article of the Star Chamber decree of

1586,<sup>9</sup> however, got him into more serious trouble. In May 1621 he and Edward Allde, a trade printer often employed by Archer, produced a newsbook entitled A Breife description of the reasons, that make the declarac[i]on of Ban made against the King of Bohemia, as being Electo[r] Palatine Dated -22- [sic] Januarij last of noe value or worth, and therefore not to be respected. The publication of this newsbook would very likely have been welcomed by those in England who wished James to intervene in the Palatinate on behalf of his son-in-law Frederick V, Count Palatine. James's troublesome son-in-law had accepted the Crown of Bohemia in September 1619 in defiance of the claims and intentions of Ferdinand II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Frederick's persistent opposition to the Emperor led to the proclamation of the ban of the empire against him and his followers on 12 January 1621, at Vienna. His adherents rejected the ban as illegal, as its proclamation had not been preceded by a legal trial.

This argument may well have been the substance of the 'Breife description' produced by Archer and Allde. The printing of this pamphlet was injudicious, since James's policy was directed towards persuading Frederick to renounce his title to the Crown of Bohemia. James even refused to harbour his daughter Elizabeth because he was afraid her presence at court might favour her cause and that of Frederick.<sup>10</sup> The 'Breife description' must have been regarded as a seditious publication. Secretary of State George Calvert ordered the imprisonment of Archer and Allde in August 1621.<sup>11</sup>

It is not clear whether Archer and Allde were actually put in prison (there is nothing in CSPD to that effect), but the incident seems not to have deterred Archer from further illegal action. On another occasion he was fined forty shillings 'for Causing to bee printed certaine books vnlicensed and vnentered', a fine which he promised to pay on 11 May 1622.<sup>12</sup> In 1624 he was again in trouble for printing a book without proper license and entrance in the Registers, this time together with Nicholas Okes. The book was hopefully entitled Good News from Breda, the bad news for Archer was the payment of a fine of three pounds. The entry in the Fine Book of the Stationers' Company notes Archer's offence of unlicensed printing with a weary 'having had often warninge'.<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Okes and Thomas Archer had already been caught once before, in 1609, in the act of unlicensed printing, and duly paid their fines.<sup>14</sup>

Archer's irregular activities are in keeping with his status as a bookseller and publisher. He was one of the poorer members of the Stationers'

Company. Although he held half a yeomanry share in the English Stock of the Company until 1626 (when he sold his part to John Harrigate),<sup>15</sup> he was allowed a pension out of '[the] poores money' four years later in 1630.<sup>16</sup> This is the last entry for Archer in the Records of the Court. His last entry in the Registers concerns a book transferral to the printer Hugh Perry on 10 February 1631, after which Archer's name disappears from both the Records and the Registers.<sup>17</sup>

Thomas Archer's output was geared towards popular taste and interest. A closer look at Archer's publishing career will demonstrate that a pamphlet like The Araignment of Women is in line with Archer's interests (and scope) as a publisher. The two items which ensured Archer the steadiest sales, Henry Timberlake's A true and strange discourse of the travailes of two English pilgrimes and Joseph Swetnam's The Araignment of Women, are in that respect representative samples of Archer's output. Both were reprinted six times during Archer's tenure.<sup>18</sup>

The title of Timberlake's A true and strange discourse of the travailes of two English pilgrims, advertising both the narrative's veracity and its adventurousness, would have appealed to an audience increasingly interested in travel accounts. The demand for travel books grew rapidly in the last decades of the sixteenth century, the result of the growing interest in foreign countries.<sup>19</sup> Timberlake travelled to the Holy Land via Alexandria and Cairo, from which place he left on 9 March 1601 for Jerusalem. He stayed in the Holy Land for a period of fifty days.<sup>20</sup> To bring home to his English readers the geographical locations of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Gilead and Nazareth, he compared them to London, Wandsworth, Bow, and Chelmsford.<sup>21</sup> Another travel book, published jointly by Thomas Archer and Richard Redmer, reprinted only once, was Robert Coverte's A true and almost incredible report of an Englishman that travelled by land through many kingdomes,<sup>22</sup> which came out in 1612, again with an appetizing title designed to stir the reader's curiosity.

The interest in accounts of foreign lands and customs coincided with a marked interest in foreign news and here too Archer is found catering for popular demand. Political as well as sensational news was equally welcomed by the news-hungry public: accounts of the progress of the wars in Germany, France and the Low Countries were offered for sale side by side with reports of natural disasters, floods, fires and earthquakes in the bookstalls around St. Paul's Cathedral. St. Paul's itself was swarming daily with newsmongers

eager for the latest news. The letters of John Chamberlain, himself a frequent 'Paul's walker',<sup>23</sup> reflect the zest for imparting and receiving news. In a letter to Dudley Carleton, dated 13 November 1611, he refers to the 'speculativi' who crowd St. Paul's, newsmongers who discuss foreign and domestic affairs and speculate on the outcome.<sup>24</sup> The publication of foreign and domestic news was a profitable business, bound to attract readers.<sup>25</sup>

Newsbooks were usually produced by the smaller printers and booksellers. For the years between 1590 and 1610 over 250 of such news pamphlets have survived, an average of one newsbook every two weeks. Newsbooks were published in quarto, with the title-page summarizing the news for the convenience of prospective buyers.<sup>26</sup> The news pamphlets produced by Edward Allde between 1590 and 1610 provide a representative sample of the staple of news of that period: foreign sieges and battles, a sea-fight between Spanish and English ships, the reception in London of Christian IV of Denmark, father-in-law to James I, the creation of James' eldest son Henry as Prince of Wales, the Gunpowder Plot, but also accounts of murders, executions and 'A true relation of Go[ds] wonderfull mercies, in preserving one alive, which hanged five days'.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1620s, when the wars in Germany, France and the Low Countries were gaining momentum, the periodical publication of news concerning the progress of battles and sieges increased in volume. The earliest corantos in the English language were printed in the Netherlands in 1620-1,<sup>28</sup> but in September 1621 the bookseller Nathaniel Butter published a 'Corante, or Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungarie, Spaine and France', the earliest surviving English coranto.<sup>29</sup> The sources for the English newsbooks were periodical publications in other countries, letters written by private persons, or, less frequently, the relations of travellers newly returned from abroad.<sup>30</sup>

Although Nathaniel Butter's corantos are the earliest surviving copies of newsbooks printed in London, Thomas Archer most probably preceded him in the regular publication of newsbooks. In a letter to his relative Martin Stuteville, the Reverend Joseph Mead reported on Archer's brief and unsuccessful first effort at periodical news publication: 'My corrantor Archer, was laid by the heels for making, or adding to, his corantos, as they say. But now there is another that hath got license to print them and sell them, honestly translated out of Dutch'.<sup>31</sup>

Archer's offence in 'making, or adding to' newsbooks was certainly not unique to him, and continued to be practised and criticised. Folke Dahl

quotes the examples of Abraham Holland's A Continu'd just Inquisition of Paper Persecutors (1625) and Richard Brathwait's Whimzies: or, a New Cast of Characters ('A Corrant-coiner') of 1631 for attacks on news publishers.<sup>32</sup>

None of the copies of Archer's corantos have survived. Some of his earlier work, however, already points to his interest in the publication of news.<sup>33</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, to find his name amongst the booksellers mainly responsible for the publication of news in the 1620s. In 1622, a year after his individual undertaking as a news publisher, Archer associated himself with Nicholas Bourne in the business of selling news. Together they issued 22 newsbooks out of the 39 that have survived, over a period of four months.<sup>34</sup> The other main news publishers were Nathaniel Butter, William Sheffard, Bartholomew Downes and Nathaniel Newbery. These newsbooks were still unnumbered and undated, but on 15 October the first numbered and dated newsbook was issued, the start of a first series of periodical news publications. The publishers are supposed to have combined in a news syndicate which did not endure, however, because in September 1624 Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne appear as the sole publishers of the second series of newsbooks. Thomas Archer made a determined effort once again to strike out on his own, but proved unsuccessful against the combined force of Butter and Bourne. Archer had started a series of numbered and dated newsbooks of his own, after having first tried to continue the existing series published by Bourne and Butter.<sup>35</sup> He apparently soon discontinued this series. The last news publications by Archer, again numbered and dated, date to July and August 1628.<sup>36</sup>

The later part of Archer's publishing career is thus mainly dominated by the publication of news. But he had also been active in other fields. He published a number of plays by Dekker, Middleton, Marston and Webster. In 1607 he brought out Dekker and Webster's The famous history of Sir Thomas Wyatt; with the coronation of Queen Mary, Middleton and Dekker's The Roaring Girle in 1611, Webster's The White Devil in 1612 and Marston's The Insatiate Countess in 1613.<sup>37</sup>

Middleton and Dekker's The Roaring Girle is an interesting play. It was acted by the Prince's Players at the Fortune theatre, a popular theatre, and was probably also performed to popular acclaim: the heroine of the play is Mary Frith, alias the Roaring Girl, alias Moll Cut-Purse, a well-known London character, a female swaggerer and thief, who was still at large in 1611 when the play was published. She was arrested and forced to confess her sins

publicly at St. Paul's Cross in 1612. John Chamberlain, who witnessed the penitent's performance, imparted his own views on her public repentance to Dudley Carleton.<sup>38</sup>

One of Dekker's plague pamphlets, The Ravens Almanacke, was published anonymously by Thomas Archer in 1609. In the same year Archer published Everie Woman in her Humour, a comedy.<sup>39</sup> Everie Woman in her Humour, The Roaring Grlle, Swetnam's The Araignment of Women, and Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus, are the only books which Archer brought out on the subject of women. The two plays, Everie Woman in her Humour and The Roaring Grlle, as well as Swetnam's attack on women are the sort of products Archer would have been interested in. A Mouzell for Melastomus, (the first response in the Swetnam controversy), however, is untypical of Archer's output and its publication by Archer very likely a matter of chance and not policy.<sup>40</sup>

The other two responses in the controversy were entered to Nicholas Bourne and Laurence Hayes.<sup>41</sup> Nicholas Bourne was not a small bookseller like Thomas Archer. Although Bourne associated himself with Thomas Archer in the publication of newsbooks a few years after the Swetnam controversy, he was never dependent on popular products in the way that Thomas Archer was, and indeed so far from engaging in popular literature that he would not allow his apprentices to sell plays,<sup>42</sup> a likely indication of Puritan sympathies. In 1630 he was called before the High Commission together with Michael Sparke, James Boler and Henry Overton to answer a charge of selling an unlicensed book, and a year later, in 1631, these four men were again before the High Commission charged with printing a 'scandalous booke' entitled Romes Ruin.<sup>43</sup>

Bourne published a great many sermons by such Puritan divines as Arthur Dent, Daniel Featley and John Preston. He also published some of the works of Christopher Sutton, a divine and author of devotional works. Bourne acquired Sutton's Disce vivere and other theological works from the widow of his former master, Cuthbert Burby, to whom he had been apprenticed.<sup>44</sup> On his death Burby had left his apprentice the offer of his stock on favourable terms besides giving him the lease of his shop in Cornhill in recognition of his faithful service. The book transferral from the widow Burby to Nicholas Bourne mostly comprised theological works, and the only 'popular' item, parts one and two of a romance, Bourne soon assigned over to Thomas Snodham in 1612.<sup>45</sup>

In spite of Bourne's probable sympathies for the Puritan cause, he was never again to get into trouble with the High Commission, unlike his former



fellow-defendant Michael Sparke. Instead Bourne rose to a powerful position in the Stationers' Company. He became an Assistant of the Stationers' Company on 2 October 1633, and was made a Warden of the Company in 1637 and in 1639. In 1643 and again in 1651 he was elected Master of the Company.<sup>46</sup> Nicholas Bourne dealt almost exclusively in newsbooks and religious books; in that respect Ester hath hang'd Haman, an answer in a controversy provoked by a popular attack on women, is not typical of his output.<sup>47</sup>

Laurence Hayes, whose first book entry in the Registers concerns the third and last direct response in the Swetnam controversy, Constantia Munda's The Worming of a mad Dogge: Or, a Soppe for Cerberus was the son of the bookseller Thomas Hayes, who held the copyright in Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice and whose rights in the play were later transferred to Laurence.<sup>48</sup> Like his father Thomas, Laurence Hayes probably set up shop as a bookseller. Copies of The worming of a mad Dogge were to be got at his shop 'neere Fleet-bridge, over against S<sup>t</sup> Brides Lane'.<sup>49</sup> There are no indications that Laurence Hayes was ever associated with Thomas Archer, so that The Worming of a mad Dogge, too, seems to be an independent contribution to the controversy rather than a planned publication.

The first edition of The Araignment of Women was printed for Thomas Archer by Edward Allde. Allde was a trade printer and employed by most stationers of his time. He was regularly employed by Archer.<sup>50</sup> The woodcut on the title-page of Allde's first edition of The Araignment of Women, representing a lady dressed in a farthingale and ruff, holding a fan, set the tone for all editions up to and including 1629. The choice of this woodcut indicated to prospective buyers the nature of The Araignment of Women, since it would have been familiar to those interested in the many ballads and plays on women, and would automatically have classed the text in the category of popular literature.<sup>51</sup>

The edition of The Araignment of Women printed by Edward Allde was published under the pseudonym of 'Thomas Telltroth'. This pseudonym was dropped in the next edition, printed the same year in 1615, and substituted by the author's real name, Joseph Swetnam. Archer employed a different printer, George Purslowe, for the second edition. Purslowe's edition is typographically superior to that of Allde's, and indeed Purslowe as a printer was in a different class from Allde. George Purslowe was associated with the Eliot's Court Press and regularly employed by such booksellers as Edward Blount, John Budge and Henry Bell. The Araignment of Women was the only book

Purslowe printed for Archer. Archer may have employed a better printer for the reprint of The Araignment of Women because it proved to be such a popular success, while he may not have been prepared to spend much time or effort over the printing of the first edition.<sup>52</sup> In 1616 Archer again turned to a different printer, probably Thomas Snodham, who also produced the next two editions of The Araignment of Women, in 1617 and 1619. Snodham, like Alde, was employed by Archer on a number of occasions. The other printers employed by Archer for The Araignment of Women were Bernard Alsop for the 1622 edition and Augustine Mathewes for the 1628 edition.

During Archer's tenure, a year after Snodham's last edition of The Araignment of Women, the bookseller Richard Meighen came out with the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women. The play was licensed by Sir George Buc, Master of the Revels, and entered as a comedy. Joseph Swetnam, together with Mary Frith, alias Moll Cut-purse, the Roaring Girl of Middleton and Dekker's play, thus became one of the few contemporary figures to act as the subject of a popular play, proof that The Araignment of Women and its author continued to excite the interest of the London readers some years after the original publication of the pamphlet.<sup>53</sup> Not only does the title of the play refer to Swetnam personally, a rather unusual practice in itself, but his name is by now obviously linked inextricably with that of 'woman-hater'. Moreover, whereas Moll Cut-purse is presented sympathetically in The Roaring Girle, Swetnam is a figure of fun only, a strong indication that the pamphlet was not regarded too seriously, and that the popularity of Swetnam, a matter of some concern to his respondents, at least to Rachel Speght, was largely qualified.

Not only the title of the play refers to The Araignment of Women, but there are references to Swetnam's attack in several parts of the play.<sup>54</sup> The playwright(s) preferred to refer to the pseudonymous first edition of The Araignment of Women to add more fuel to the charge of cowardice. In the play, Swetnam, alias Mysogenos, confronted with The Araignment of Women, denies the authorship of it:

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| <u>Atlanta</u>   | Produce the Bookes, and reade the title of um.   |
| <u>Loretta</u>   | <u>The Arraignment of idle, froward, and unconstant Women</u>  |
| <u>Aurelia</u>   | What say you, Sir, to this?  |
| <u>Mysogenos</u> | Shew me my name, and then Ile yeeld unto 't  |
| <u>Aurelia</u>   | No, that's your policie and cowardise,<br>You durst not publish what you dar'd to write. <sup>55</sup> |

The woodcut on the title-page was produced especially for the play. It features Swetnam tried at the bar, standing in front of a female judge (the Queen, Aurelia), flanked by two female halberdiers. Women crowd to the sides of the bar while Swetnam holds up his hands in a gesture of defence. A female prosecutor (Atlanta) reads his indictment. Swetnam's name is printed alongside the figure tried at the bar.

Richard Meighen, for whom the play was printed, also published in 1620 Muld Sacke, a response in a literary controversy on the subject of a phenomenon which shocked the traditionalists of the age: the fashion for women to dress in male attire. The fashion was not new to the 1620s: Moll Cut-purse is presented on the title-page of The Roaring Girle<sup>56</sup> in 1611 wearing male dress and smoking, double vices, and in 1615 Mrs Turner, the physician's widow, better known as an accomplice in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, was sent to the gallows by James wearing men's dress in token of her depravity, since she too had subscribed to the fashion. Hic Mulier, the pamphlet which sparked off the controversy, probably refers to these two when it mentions

the lowest despised Creatures that Record can give testimonie of; the one cut from the Common-wealth at the gallows; the other is well-knowne. (A4<sup>r</sup>)

Although Muld Sacke purports to be written in defence of women, it is for the larger part a moralistic pamphlet, traditionally lamenting the decline of the age, the loss of country hospitality and the rise of a new class of lawyers and usurers. The author of Muld Sacke addresses the author of Hic Mulier<sup>57</sup> throughout the pamphlet and promises

a reformation of those things you lay against me, and my kindred, provided that Haec Vir and his Friends amend their ways too. (C4<sup>r</sup>)

A year after Augustine Mathewes's edition of The Araignment of Women in 1628, John Wreittoun, an Edinburgh printer, came out with an octavo edition. This edition was based on the first edition of 1615. Wreittoun maintains the pseudonym, (spelt in the Scottish edition as 'Thomas Tel-Trouth'), which was used in the first edition, but substituted by the author's real name in each subsequent edition.<sup>58</sup>

Wreittoun was not a small bookseller like Thomas Archer, and The Araignment of Women is not typical of his output. In 1629, the year when he brought out The Araignment of Women, he published, according to W. Beattie's handlist of works by Wreittoun, two military books, sermons by Zachary Boyd,

a minister, the Confession of the Countess of Linlithgow, two theses read in St. Andrew's University, a religious poem by John Kennedie and a religious tract by Sir William Moore.<sup>59</sup> Wreittoun does not seem to have had a particular interest in controversial books on women. The only other publication by Wreittoun in 1629 on the subject of women was The Confession and Conversion of my Lady C. of L., an account of the conversion to the Protestant faith of Helen Livingston, Countess of Linlithgow. The Countess of Linlithgow died in 1627 and was converted shortly before her death. She had been an ardent Catholic for most of her life.<sup>60</sup> Since the conversion of the Countess of Linlithgow was a minor triumph for the Protestant faith, The Araignment of Women cannot have been intended as a companion piece to The Confession and Conversion, neither was there an upsurge of books on women in Scotland in the 1620s. The Scottish edition of The Araignment of Women remains an occasional publication in the output of John Wreittoun.

On 10 September 1628 Thomas Archer assigned his rights in the pamphlet to Francis Grove. Grove's interest in a popular pamphlet like The Araignment of Women is consistent with his output as a bookseller, as was the case with Archer. He took up his freedom on 30 June 1623 and made his first entry in the Registers on 18 July 1623, when he entered three ballads.<sup>61</sup> From that first entry on his output is almost entirely made up of ballads and jest-books.<sup>62</sup> Francis Grove entered some of Martin Parker's many ballads, sold The history of Friar Rush, and had The history of Friar Bacon printed for him, as well as Robin Goodfellow his mad pranks, and merry jests. The latter jest book Grove had acquired from the stock of John Spencer on 25 April 1627, who also assigned over to him Loves Garland on the same day.<sup>63</sup> The other assignment to Francis Grove in the early part of his career concerns The Araignment of Women.<sup>64</sup>

The first extant edition after 1628, when Grove acquired the pamphlet, dates to 1634 and bears the imprint 'Printed at London by T[homas]. C[otes]. and are to be sold by F. Grove, at his Shop, at the upper-end of Snow-hill, neere the Sarazens head without Newgate. 1634'. By 1634 Grove had already assigned The Araignment of Women to Richard Cotes, together with a number of other popular books and ballads.<sup>65</sup> Yet the 1634 edition, after Cotes had acquired his copy of The Araignment of Women, advertises Grove's address as the place where copies of The Araignment of Women might be had. Grove must have retained the sole right to sell the copies of The Araignment of Women, while Cotes became the formal owner, and printer, of the pamphlet. This

appears to have been the case for a number of books which were acquired by Cotes on 9 November 1633, Ovide Tristia, The King and a poore northerne man, and Robin Goodfellow his mad pranks.<sup>66</sup>

No changes were made to the body of The Araignment of Women nor to its preliminaries,<sup>67</sup> but the new woodcut on the title-page indicates the established popularity of the pamphlet. Archer's editions only featured the familiar woodcuts of ladies in farthingales and ruffs, but for this edition a special woodcut was executed for Francis Grove (with - presumably - his initials 'F' and 'G' in the top left and right hand corners) on the subject of The Araignment of Women. The woodcut represents Swetnam seated at a table, his right hand on a book. An inkpot and quill are placed near the book. He is surrounded by four angry women, who are standing at the bar. Swetnam is pointing with his left hand at one of the women.

Richard and his brother Thomas Cotes were in partnership at the Barbican in Newgate Street, where Thomas Cotes had succeeded Isaac Jaggard. Jaggard's widow Dorothy had assigned to Richard and Thomas Cotes her husband's business and rights in copies, including 'her parte in Shackspeare plays'. On 8 November 1633 Richard Cotes acquired more copyrights of Shakespeare's plays and other plays in a book transferral from Robert Bird to Cotes.<sup>68</sup> The transferrals of titles from Dorothy Jaggard, Robert Bird and Francis Grove are large entries in the Stationers' Registers. The transferral of Jaggard's titles had already included a few popular bestsellers, such as A hundred merry tales and Adam Bell. With the transferral of 1633, Richard and Thomas Cotes broadened their share in popular literature. Thomas Cotes printed two editions of The Araignment of Women, with the new woodcut bearing the initials 'F' 'G', in 1634 and 1637. After Thomas's death in 1642, Richard Cotes, who continued the business, undertook another edition of The Araignment of Women in 1645. Although the title-page featured the Francis Grove woodcut, the imprint simply states that the edition was 'Printed by Richard Cotes', without mentioning Francis Grove, or a sales address.

Thomas and Richard Cotes were not small booksellers like Thomas Archer, the original owner of The Araignment of Women, nor did their interest lie entirely in the field of popular ballad literature, as was obviously the case with Francis Grove. Richard Cotes's purchase of copies owned by Francis Grove on 9 November 1633 cost him six shillings and sixpence. He had acquired a range of steadily selling titles, but his subsequent entries in the Stationers' Registers do not reveal any further interest in popular

literature. Thomas and Richard Cotes printed a number of books for the Puritan printer and bookseller Michael Sparke. That their relationship was not exclusively businesslike is evidenced by the fact that Richard Cotes left a bequest to Michael Sparke when he died.<sup>69</sup> Most of Richard Cotes's entries in the Stationers' Registers, apart from those he made in his capacity of Printer to the City of London (after 1642), are of a religious nature, and in the years 1646-7 he was briefly associated with Captain John Bellamy, bookseller and parliamentarian officer. He printed a few of Bellamy's pamphlets in 1646, and entered, together with Bellamy, The humble petic[i]on of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen & Comons in Comen Councell assembled, on 17 December 1646. In March 1647 Bellamy and Cotes entered The humble petic[i]on of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen & Comons in Comen Councell assembled, to the Lords & Comons in Parl[iament].<sup>70</sup>

When Richard Cotes died in 1653, his widow Elinor took over the printing business. Hazlitt lists a 1654 edition of The Araignment of Women, bearing the imprint 'Printed at London by E.C. for F. Gro. and are to be sold at his shop, at the upper end of Snow Hill, near the Sarazens head without Newgate',<sup>71</sup> now apparently lost. It seems clear, however, from the imprint that the association between the Cotes and Grove families continued. Elinor Cotes issued another edition in 1660, with the imprint 'Printed by E[linor]. C[otes]. for F. Grove, on Snow-Hill, near the Sarazens-Head, 1660'. There appears to have been another edition in 1662, with the same imprint.<sup>72</sup>

Although the Stationers' Registers contain no evidence of a transferral of the copy from Elinor Cotes to Thomas Passinger or William Thackeray, The Araignment of Women must have passed into the hands of Passinger and Thackeray, because the next edition was printed 'by M[ary?].C[larke?]. for T. Passenger, at the Three Bibles upon London Bridge, 1682'. It is interesting to note, though, that some of the items which Richard Cotes bequeathed to his wife Elinor, are later found in the possession of Thomas Passinger and/or his partner William Thackeray. Clim of the Clough, Adam Bell and The famous historie of Fryer Bacon were thus printed by Elinor Cotes for Passinger.<sup>73</sup> In the Term Catalogues Passinger advertised a list of books containing six titles. Three of these had been transferred to Richard Cotes on 9 November 1633 and so must have passed on to Elinor Cotes after her husband's death. They are Ovid's Tristia, The famous historie of Fryer Bacon, and The Araignment of Women. The other three books were Wits Academy, or the Muses Delight, Cocker's Arithmetick and John B  chler's Sacrarum profanarumque

phrasium Poeticarum Thesaurus. All six were printed for 'T. Passinger at the Three Bibles on London Bridge'. Passinger had been apprenticed to Charles Tyas and presumably succeeded to his master and predecessor's business at the Three Bibles, because he occupied the premises on London Bridge from 1664, the year of Tyas's death, to 1688.<sup>74</sup> On 2 January 1678 Passinger acquired a third part in the nautical books owned by Robert Boulter and Ralph Smith, comprising 55 titles.<sup>75</sup> The location of his shop on London Bridge would have stimulated Passinger's interest in nautical books. Passinger and Thackeray held a number of ballads and chapbooks in partnership, and The Araignment of Women was among these books.

Although Thackeray is not mentioned in the imprint of the 1682 edition he must have held a share in the book, because it is from William Thackeray that the next owner of The Araignment of Women, Jonah Deacon, obtained the copy. When Passinger died in 1688 he left his stock, including his share of the books which he held in partnership with William Thackeray, to his nephew Thomas Passinger. The Araignment of Women, however, must have remained in the possession of Thackeray, who sold the book to Jonah Deacon and John Wilde, along with eight other books, on 30 April 1698.<sup>76</sup>

Jonah Deacon mainly published popular literature in partnership with B[ridget]. Deacon. In November 1692, together with John Back and Josiah Blare, he entered in the Stationers' Registers the Third Part of The Pilgrim's Progress, which was printed for them by John Millet in a duodecimo edition in 1693.<sup>77</sup> Earlier, in 1687, Jonah Deacon had entered a verse adaptation of The Pilgrim's Progress entitled The Heavenly Passenger, or, The Pilgrims Progress, which he published the same year, the first of many adaptations.<sup>78</sup>

Deacon must have been certain of the popular success of The Heavenly Passenger. Most of the entries in the Stationers' Registers show that Deacon had a keen instinct for the popular books that would sell. His first entry in the Stationers' Registers, on 7 August 1682, concerns a book transferral from the estate of Thomas Vere, and includes Arcandum, a popular handbook of astrology, first published in the 1560s; Gervase Markham's Faithfull Farrier, a book on horsemanship; a collection of stories around the folk hero Robin Hood; the prose romance Sir Bevis of Southampton; and Richard Johnson's The Renowned History of the Seven Champions of Christendome, a popular romance.<sup>79</sup>

The inclusion of The Araignment of Women in the list of books which were transferred to Deacon and Wilde in 1698 is interesting as another indication

that the pamphlet had reached the status of a popular bestseller. The other titles in the list are mainly romances, jest-books, and wonder books, 'old favorites of the multitude' as L.B. Wright calls them.<sup>80</sup> They are The Speedy Post, originally published in 1625 as A speedie poste, with certaine new letters by I.W., 'for the help of such as are desirous to learne to write letters'. Handbooks of letters such as A speedie post remained popular throughout the seventeenth century and far beyond and were aimed at the improvement of the reader's manner of expression. The other books are strictly for entertainment: Scoggin's Jests, a jest-book originally licensed in the 1560s, and which continued in popularity long after its first publication. Already in 1590 the Puritan divine William Perkins had hoped to rectify popular belief that 'merrie ballads and bookes, as Scoggin, Sir Bevis of Southampton, &c. are good to drive away time, and to remove hart quames',<sup>81</sup> but his earnest address 'To all ignorant people that desire to be instructed' proved inefficacious against the lure of popular amusement. Sir Bevis of Southampton, also singled out for attack by Perkins, Richard Johnson's The most pleasant history of Tom a Lincolne, The famous and renowned history of Sir John Hawkwood, knight, and Emanuel Forde's Ornatus and Artesia are romances, criticized by educated opinion as unprofitable to the reader, but reprinted time after time no doubt because they were 'good to drive away time'. Thomas Deloney's The pleasant history of Thomas of Reading, or, the six worthy yeomen of the West is a prose tale originally entered in the Registers in 1598/9 and reprinted several times. The famous history of Friar Bacon, finally, belongs to the category of wonder books, the most famous of which was The Historie of the damnable life, and deserved death of Doctor John Faustus. Joseph Swetnam's The Araignment of Women closes the list.

All of the books which were entered to Deacon and Wilde in 1698 feature in an advertisement included at the back of Richard Johnson's The Renowned History of the Seven Champions of Christendom, in an edition which was printed for and sold by B. Deacon.<sup>82</sup> Scoggin's Jests and A Speedy Post are priced 4d., Tom a Lincolne is priced 6d., while all other books are priced 3d., except for The Araignment of Women, which is sold 'Bound 1s.'. It is again clear from the prices quoted above that Deacon aimed at the cheap end of the market.

All the books in the list were originally published early in the seventeenth century, or in the century before, and went through numerous



editions. They must have been acquired by Jonah Deacon and John Wilde in the secure knowledge that they would bring them steady sales. The Araignment of Women was printed three times for B. Deacon, Jonah Deacon's partner, in 1702, 1704 and 1707, in duodecimo editions. John Wilde's name does not occur in the imprints of these editions, nor apparently in the imprints of the other eight books transferred to Wilde and Deacon as listed in the advertisement. Wilde may have sold his share in the books to Jonah Deacon before 1702, when the first edition of The Araignment of Women, printed for B. Deacon, was published.

This first edition of The Araignment of Women in the eighteenth century is a straightforward reprint of the last seventeenth-century edition. The woodcut is omitted, and the duodecimo format, common to all chapbooks, is adopted. The second edition for B. Deacon, however, has added 'A Second Part: containing Merry Dialogues, Witty Poems, and Jovial Songs', advertised on the title-page, probably in an attempt to increase the saleability of the original pamphlet. Three out of the four dialogues in this 'Second Part' are taken from Vinegar and Mustard: Or, Wormwood Lectures for Every Day in the Week, which had been printed for John Clark, William Thackeray and Thomas Passinger in 1686, but had probably also been sold by Francis Grove some thirty-five years earlier.<sup>83</sup> It seems likely that the other Dialogues, Poems and Songs were also taken from existing popular works on women.

If the occurrence of The Araignment of Women in the list discussed above already points to its uncontroversial nature as a popular favourite, the nature of the merry dialogues, witty poems and jovial songs further indicates that The Araignment of Women was regarded in the light of popular entertainment only. Apart from the addition of the Second Part, the text of The Araignment of Women itself has been revised and occasional modernisations of by now archaic words have been introduced (see 6.4). These alterations and the Second Part have been maintained in each subsequent eighteenth-century edition.

The 1707 edition of The Araignment of Women includes an advertisement on A8<sup>v</sup>. Some of the items in this list occur in the advertisement discussed above, such as The famous history of Tom a Lincolne, and The famous history of Sir Bevis of Southampton. In all there are nine items, priced between 1s. and 1s.6d. and.<sup>84</sup>

The next edition after B. Deacon's third and last edition in 1707 was printed by and for Thomas Norris, and sold by Edward Midwinter, at the

Looking-Glass on London Bridge. This edition is undated, but can be put between 1711, the year when Norris moved to the premises on London Bridge, and 1723, the year when Norris retired from active business.<sup>85</sup> Cyprian Blagden notes that on 20 September 1712, Charles Brown and Thomas Norris made 'an enormous entry' in the Registers, comprising '6 old Broadsheets, 46 old "Sheets & half", along with a number of "Three Sheet Books", "Sticht Histories", "Bound Books" and "Books in 32".<sup>86</sup> The Araignment of Women may have been amongst these books.

Norris combined the trades of bookbinder and bookseller at his shop on London Bridge. He was included in Samuel Negus's 1724 list of owners of printing-houses as a 'High-flyer', that is, a Tory rather than a Whig.<sup>87</sup> His address is given as 'Little Britain'.<sup>88</sup> Norris published many chapbooks, ballads and, like Thomas Passinger, formerly of London Bridge, a great many nautical books.<sup>89</sup> Edward Midwinter married Norris's daughter, or daughter-in-law Elizabeth, in 1720. Midwinter too is described as a 'High-Flyer' in Negus's list.

The last eighteenth-century edition of The Araignment of Women was published in 1733. The imprint reads 'Printed for A. Bettesworth, and C. Hitch at the Red-Lyon, and J. Osburn [Osborne], at the Golden Ball in Paternoster Row, S. Brit [Birt] in Avemary Lane, and J. Hodges on London Bridge. 1733'. This edition was obviously a joint venture. John Osborne, Arthur Bettesworth and James Hodges were members of the Castle or New Conger. Samuel Birt was a member of the Printing Conger.<sup>90</sup> It is interesting to note that James Hodges, one of the booksellers mentioned in the imprint of the 1733 edition, succeeded Thomas Norris at his last publishing address on London Bridge around 1730.<sup>91</sup> If Hodges took over Norris's shop, he may also have acquired Norris' stock, or parts of it, on his retirement, and The Araignment of Women may have been included in the list. If Hodges acquired the copy, he may have offered Bettesworth, Osborne, Hitch and Birt proportions in the 1733 edition.<sup>92</sup>

The shops of two of the booksellers whose names are joined in the 1733 imprint, Arthur Bettesworth and James Hodges, were located on London Bridge. H.R. Plomer describes Bettesworth as 'chiefly a printer of divinity, though he published many novels &c., and like all booksellers on [London] Bridge, dealt in some questionable literature'.<sup>93</sup> Hodges is described by John Nichols as 'a considerable bookseller, particularly in what were called chapbooks'.<sup>94</sup> This category of books is dismissed by a later historian of London Bridge as

'the usual Bridge class of books'.<sup>95</sup>

The Araignment of Women, sold on London Bridge, is thus also marked geographically as a popular product in its later career. H.R. Plomer, in his article on 'The Booksellers of London Bridge', discusses the company of books which The Araignment of Women kept in the first half of the eighteenth century. Apart from nautical books, the products most often found on London Bridge were ballads, jest books and penny histories, literature designed to appeal to the popular reading public. They were books, he imagines, 'which served to while away the long winter hours in country places, which were passed from hand to hand and from farmhouse to farmhouse, until they were thumbed out of existence'.<sup>96</sup> The Araignment of Women clearly falls into this category of books. It is interesting to note in this respect that Willem Christiaens van der Boxe, the Dutch translator and publisher of The Araignment of Women, defended the translation and publication of his Recht-banck tegen de luye, korzelighe en wispeltuyrighe Vrouwen on the grounds that it was only a harmless product meant to pass away the time: 'want de selve en is van mij soo seer niet vertaelt, omdat ik u.l. (ghij VROUTJENS) haetende, als wel om in dese winter ende langhe avonden wat Tijdt kortinge ende ghelegentheydt van lagchen te geven' ['since the same has not so much been translated (dear ladies) because I dislike you, but in order to provide a pastime and an occasion for mirth during these long winter nights'].<sup>97</sup>

The 1733 edition was the last 'trade' edition of The Araignment of Women, the last edition which was brought out on commercial grounds. There is a lapse of some seventy years until the next edition of The Araignment of Women in 1807, which was brought out by Machel Stace, and printed by Joseph Smeeton. It was reprinted together with Ester Sowernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman, the second response in the controversy which ensued after the original publication of The Araignment of Women.

John Nichols calls Stace 'a very ingenious and intelligent Cataloguizer, and Editor of some useful publications'.<sup>98</sup> Stace certainly presented his double issue as a useful publication in his rather genteel advertisement to the public:

With these curious Essays we trace a remarkable similarity of habits and sentiments in our own country, in the periods of about two centuries distant from each other. The qualities and pretensions of the different Sexes are examined with appropriate zeal - the consequences of the different Conditions in Life which they may adopt are impressively pointed out, hence it is presumed that topics and characters, of universal concern, thus treated and depicted, will make

the perusal of them very interesting. To Persons desirous of consulting the literature of preceding times, these little volumes are inscribed; and in attempting to gratify their enquiries, the Editor hopes to meet a kind return.<sup>99</sup>

Apart from the antiquarian re-issue of The Arraignment of Women, there was also an antiquarian re-issue of the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by women in 1880.<sup>100</sup> The editor, the Reverend A.B. Grosart, commented on The Arraignment of Women with more than antiquarian vigour: 'The Arraignment of Woman by Joseph Swetnam is in every way a sorry production', he affirmed, considering it a 'mendacious attack on Woman qua Woman, without a spark of wit, or salt of pungency'. He continued: 'Somehow the bright, pure, noble women of Chaucer and Shakespeare were (temporarily) forgotten, and it came to be the foolish as malignant mode indiscriminately to traduce the female sex'.<sup>101</sup> In the introduction to the play, he is forced to quote from The Arraignment of Women, which, he says, 'though intrinsically of slightest value, being blundering and ungrammatical it is necessary to furnish, as being refuted in our play again and again'.<sup>102</sup>

Grosart's indignation about The Arraignment of Women is also felt in his reflection on the audience of the Red Bull, the popular theatre in which the play was performed: 'I for one think well of the "commonalty" of the "Red Bull" in that it was possible to count on a fair hearing and more, for such a play as Swetnam the Woman-Hater arraigned. It is not the first time - historically - that the chivalry of the (so-called) "lower classes" has been higher than that of the "upper-ten"'.<sup>103</sup> Grosart also consulted the replies to the pamphlet. 'Besides our play and indirect retorts, I have before me these three direct and passionate Answers', which he briefly discussed in his introduction.<sup>104</sup>

#### 4.3 Dutch editions

In 1641 there appeared a Dutch translation of The Arraignment of Women, entitled Recht-banck tegen de luye, korzelighe en wispeltuyrighe Vrouwen, printed and translated by Willem Christiaens van der Boxe, who printed in Leyden from 1631 to 1658.<sup>105</sup> He translated The Arraignment of Women, as he tells us in the first edition: 'Om de Historische Vertellingen, ende kortswijlicheyts wille, uyt het Engelse gedruckte Exemplae van dien Clucht-hoofdigen Poët M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Swetnam, nu eerst vertaelt in onse Nederduytse Spraeck'.<sup>106</sup> As has been noted earlier, Van der Boxe stressed the

entertainment value of The Araignment of Women, while his emphasis on the historical anecdotes recalls Constantia Munda's more contemptuous reference to these same anecdotes, 'which the poore deluded Corydons and sillie swaines account for Oracles, and maintaine as axiomes' (E3<sup>v</sup>). Both present a different approach to one of the elements which may have made The Araignment of Women popular with its readers.

The Recht-banck was not Van der Boxe's only translation from the English. C.W. Schoneveld's checklist of English works translated into Dutch in Intertraffic of the Mind includes a number of works translated by him: Thomas Adams, The White Devil (London 1613); John Andrewes, A Golden Trumpet (London 1641); Nicholas Breton, A post with a madde packet of letters (London 1602); Arthur Dent, The hand-maid of Repentaunce (London 1614); Anthony Maxey, Certaine sermons preached before the Kings maiestie (London 1619); Barnaby Rich, The Honestie of this Age (London 1614); Samuel Rowlands, Heavens Glory, seeke it (London 1625) and Henry Smith, The Trumpet of the Soule, sounding to judgement (London 1591).<sup>107</sup> Most of these texts are translations of works of divines, all of which had passed through more than one edition in England.<sup>108</sup> Although these works had already established their popularity in England and so were likely also to sell in the Republic,<sup>109</sup> Van der Boxe may have been genuinely interested in the prose of these divines. Arthur Dent 'was esteemed an excellent preacher', Thomas Adams is judged by A.B. Grosart to be 'in the forefront of our great English preachers [...] he is surpassingly eloquent and brilliant', Henry Smith was dubbed 'silver-tonged Smith' and his sermons 'are noble examples of English prose and pulpit eloquence', while Anthony Maxey was made chaplain of James I because the King characteristically admired 'his florid pulpit eloquence'.<sup>110</sup> One of the commendatory verses in the 1641 edition of the Recht-banck, moreover, recommends the translator and his interest in English literature:

'Tis (als ghy 't weten wilt) 't is Willem Christiaens  
'Tis juyt deselve Man, die menigh Engels Boeckjen  
Vond leggen, hier of daer, in eenigh duyster hoeckjen  
En bracht 'et aen den dagh.<sup>111</sup>

The author of this commendatory poem, Isaac Burchoorn, a bookseller in The Hague, supplied a list of translations by Van der Boxe in the same poem:

al doet 'et u wat spijs,  
Hij heeft ons wel vertaelt de Deeg'lijckheyt des Tijts,  
Den Politijcken Dief; Daer bij Den Witten Duyvel,  
Waer uyt wij kunnen sien, hoe dat die het beste suyvel  
Berooft van onze ziel: Daer naer Het Goud' Trompet,  
Dat wierde, door zijn Penn', ons voor het oir geset.

Oock heeft hij ons verthoont, Pracktijske van Bekeeringh  
 Tot stichtingh van den Mensch, tot nut, en goede leeringh  
 En veler Zielen-baet: Oock 't Nieuwe van Over-Al,  
 Dat ons de streken wijst oneyndigh van getal,  
 Jae, dit 's deselve Man, die dese Recht-bancks Letters  
 Uyt Brittens Tael herstelt.<sup>112</sup>

These are not the only translations by Van der Boxe.<sup>113</sup>

It is not clear how Van der Boxe's interest in English books and their translation developed. But he was apparently closely connected with English Puritans, and he was involved in the printing of puritanical books in the Dutch Republic in the 1630s and early 1640s. In the years 1637 to 1643 he printed translations of books considered to be seditious in England, as well as seditious books in the original English. STCN, the Short Title Catalogue for the Netherlands 1540-1800 which so far includes the collection of books in the holdings of the Royal Library in The Hague, gives an indication of Van der Boxe's activities as a printer of originally English books in those years. The list includes both politically coloured as well as non-controversial books:<sup>114</sup>

| Year   | Author       | Title  | Reference                 |
|--------|--------------|--|---------------------------|
| 1637   | R. Scot      | Ontdecking van Tovery  | STC 21864                 |
|        | W. Prynne    | Wat Nieuws uyt Ipswich   | STC 20469                 |
|        | G. Gillespie | A Dispute against the<br>English-popish Ceremonies   | STC 11896                 |
|        | J. Bastwick  | The Answer of John Bastwick<br>to the Information of Sir<br>J. Bancks  | STC 1568                  |
|        | J. Bastwick  | The Letany of John Bastwick<br>Parts 1, 2, 3 and 4   | STC 1572-5                |
| 1638   | J. Bastwick  | A Briefe Relation of Certain<br>Passages in the Starre-chamber<br>at the Censure of D <sup>r</sup> Bastwicke,<br>M <sup>r</sup> Burton and M <sup>r</sup> Prynne | STC 1569                  |
| [1638] |              | The Beast is Wounded. (By J.<br>Bastwicks younger brother)   | STC 22031.5               |
| 1639   |              | Gods Wonder-wercken nu onlangs<br>voor-gevallen in Enghelandt  | STC 25607<br>Knuttel 4656 |
| 1641   | W. Prynne    | Histrion-mastix  | STC 20464                 |
|        | J. Swetnam   | Recht-banck  | STC 23533                 |
|        |              | Verscheyden Handelingen en<br>Propositionen [...] door zijn<br>[...] Majesteyt   | Knuttel 4804<br>Wulp 2534 |
|        |              | Ratteval ontdeckt in dit hoogh-<br>loffelijck Jubel-jaer. Dat is,<br>de Jesuwijten gevangen in haer<br>eyghen Net  | Petit 2135                |
|        | A. Maxey     | Des Menschen Heerlijckheydt  | STC 17693                 |

|        |            |  |  |
|--------|------------|--|--|
| 1642   |            | Yrelandtsche Tranen<br>(By James Cranford)                           | Wing C 6824)<br>Knuttel 4804<br>Tiele 2766 |
|        |            | Coppe wt een ghedruckten Brief,<br>door een Edelman van Warwijck     | Knuttel 4860<br>Tiele 2814                 |
| [1642] |            | Een vermaeckelicke [...] Predicatie tegens de Papistische Ceremonien | Tiele 279                                  |
| 1643   |            | Waerachtigh nieuwe Tijdinghe uyt Engelandt nopende een Accordatie    | Wulp 2641                                  |
| 1644   |            | Houwelijschen staet ende Houwelijsche Voorwaerden                    | Ledeboer p.24                              |
| 1645   |            | [Der Vrouwen Schildt]<br>Lijck-sermoen van Willem Laud               | Wing L 599<br>Knuttel 5157                 |
| 1646   | F. Bacon   | De Proef-stucken   | STC 1137                                   |
| 1647   | F. Bacon   | De Proef-stucken   | STC 1137                                   |
| 1649   | J. Swetnam | Recht-banck  |  |
| 1650   |            | Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament                                      | STC 19306                                  |
| 1651   |            | Der Vrouwen Advocaet   | [STC 19306]                                |
| 1652   | A. Maxey   | Seven Godzalige en Christelijke Tractaten                            | STC 17693                                  |

William Prynne's Newes from Ipswich was condemned in the Court of Star Chamber in 1636. Its subtitle, discovering certaine late detestable practises of domineering lordly prelates, indicates its anti-prelatical nature. When Prynne wrote this attack, in prison in 1636, he had already been condemned to life imprisonment, a fine of £5,000, and the punishment of the pillory (where he lost both his ears). He had incurred this punishment after having published, in 1633, Histrion-mastix, an attack on the stage which was believed to contain libels against Queen Henrietta Maria and King Charles I. After he had written Newes from Ipswich, this sentence was repeated, the punishment of the pillory to be endured once again, while this time he was also to be branded on both cheeks with 'S' 'L', for 'seditious libeller'. Fellow-sufferers were Henry Burton and John Bastwick, also strongly puritanical in their beliefs. John Bastwick had published his Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum in Holland in 1634. This book, an argument in favour of presbyterianism, was brought to the attention of Archbishop Laud, who instigated prosecutions against Bastwick. He was called before the Court of High Commission and fined £1,000 and was also to be imprisoned in the Gatehouse until he recanted. Like Prynne, he possessed an indomitable spirit and produced, while in prison, The Letany of John Bastwick, which was printed by Van der Boxe in 1637. Bastwick too was then called before the Star Chamber and suffered the same fate as Prynne. Van der Boxe, in printing

translations of Prynne's books and in publishing The Letany of John Bastwick, clearly reveals Puritan sympathies.

Because of these activities he came to the attention of Sir William Boswell, who became Charles's Resident at The Hague in 1633. Boswell in his correspondence characteristically styled Van der Boxe 'a mean fellow and a printer'. In his capacity as Resident he had to report to Archbishop Laud on the movements of members of the English Presbyterian Churches in the Dutch Republic, and would obviously resent men like Van der Boxe who promoted the diffusion of puritanical literature. After the publication of Newes from Ipswich, which he brought out as Nieuws uyt Ipswich in Engelandt, Van der Boxe's house was searched on the instigation of Sir William Boswell. In 1639 Van der Boxe was again involved in irregular activities when he printed an edition of the Bible for the English merchants Thomas Crafford and Thomas Stafford. Two years earlier, in 1637, Van der Boxe had printed Simon Gakels Oratie for 'Thomas Crafford, woon. tot Amsterdam'.<sup>115</sup> Thomas Crafford was also closely watched by Sir William Boswell. In May 1639 he wrote: 'I have now almost this month together been in chase of this vermine with a Resolution never to give him over'. Van der Boxe's acquaintance with Crafford thus dates to at least 1637. He seems to have printed The Letany of John Bastwick in association with Crafford, because Boswell calls Crafford 'the principall setter forth of these venomous pieces'.<sup>116</sup> In 1645 Van der Boxe printed Laud's Lijck-sermoen, which seems a fitting conclusion to his involvement with the Puritans.

Schoneveld indexed the translations in his checklist according to a number of categories. Van der Boxe's major activities as a translator thus turn out to lie in the area of religious works.<sup>117</sup> That he was not averse to tackling work of a lighter vein is evidenced by his translation of The Araignment of Women, and the anonymous The Parliament of Women.<sup>118</sup> He translated The Parliament of Women as Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parliament. In the preface to the latter, Van der Boxe classifies both the Recht-banck and Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parliament as entertainment and promises to translate more of these pleasant and pleasurable works.<sup>119</sup> He saw no harm in the publication of the Recht-banck, nor did he expect his female readers to take offence.<sup>120</sup>

It can be seen from the sample list printed above that Van der Boxe printed a few tracts on women in the 1640s. In 1644, he published Houwelijcschen Staet, in 1645 Der Vrouwen Schildt, in 1646 Vrouwen-Lof, in 1641, [?1645] and 1649 the Recht-banck, in 1650 Der Engelsche Vrouwen



Parlament and in 1651 Der Vrouwen Advocaet.<sup>121</sup>

Houwelijcschen Staet ende Houwelijcsche Voorwaerden is a translation of eight chapters from The French Academie, originally published in London in 1586, and itself a translation of Pierre de la Primaudaye's Academie Françoise.<sup>122</sup> The title-page of Houwelijcschen Staet records that it was 'Eerst in 't Engels beschreven' ['Originally written in the English language']. Although Van der Boxe does not mention La Primaudaye as the original author, he probably knew the original work, since both l'Academie Françoise and the Recht-banck are mentioned in Der Vrouwen Schildt, which Van der Boxe published in 1646. Van der Boxe did not translate The French Academie as De Franse Academie because he only took those chapters from The French Academie which deal with marriage and the conditions of marriage.<sup>123</sup> He writes in his Epistle to the Reader that he translated this work at the suggestion of two Dutch divines, Festus Hommius and Ludovicus de Dieu.<sup>124</sup>

This work is recommended to the reader as a guidebook for both married and unmarried people. Van der Boxe addresses the young and unmarried in his Epistle to the Reader: 'Jonghe luyden, hier in kunt ghy lesen en leeren, watter van noode is om een Houwelijck met Vrede en goede ghewisse te beleven' ['Young people, in this book you may read and learn about the conditions necessary to lead a married life in peace and security']. It is a serious work on the advantages and disadvantages of marriage, although it has its share of misogynist historical anecdotes, which are rehearsed prior to the advice on marriage.

The misogynist anecdotes rehearsed in Houwelijcschen Staet served 'A.G.', the author of Der Vrouwen Schildt [A Buckler for Women],<sup>125</sup> which Van der Boxe published the next year in 1645, as a convenient source for his book. A6<sup>r</sup>-B2<sup>v</sup> of Der Vrouwen Schildt are taken from A4<sup>v</sup>-B6<sup>r</sup> of Houwelijcschen Staet, although A.G. omitted and lopped at will. Der Vrouwen Schildt is interesting because it is offered to the reader as providing a store of arguments which women and their apologists can use against their opponents in the battle of wits between men and women. This little work also refers to both the Rechtbanck and l'Academie Françoise. A.G. considers an objection commonly raised against women: 'De vrouwen (seggense) zijn een nootwendigh quaedt. En waerom toch? l'Academie Françoise, ende de vertaelde Recht-banck zeggent'.<sup>126</sup> The author dismisses both works: one is written by a Frenchman, the other by an Englishman, an appeal to patriotism if not to reason.

Vrouwen-lof [The Praise of Women], which Van der Boxe brought out the next

year, is a poem in praise of women dedicated to 'Mej. C.K.'. The author of the poem is 'P.v.G.', identified in STCN as Petrus van Gelre. Miss 'C.K.' is unidentified. The poem, which praises the beauty and constancy of women, supported by classical, biblical and historical examples, was apparently published with a view to marriage. Two of the dedicatory poems suggest that Miss C.K. will no doubt appreciate this effort on the part of her lover, and that the author will win his lady as a result. Perhaps they were too optimistic: Van der Boxe also printed a number of epithalamia, but a celebration of the marriage between 'P.v.G.' and 'C.K.' is not among those kept in the Royal Library.<sup>127</sup>

Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament had already been announced in the third edition of the Recht-banck, and was first published either in 1649 or 1650. Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament opens with the historical anecdote of Papirius Praetextus, also reproduced in The Arraignment of Women (G1<sup>v</sup>-G2<sup>r</sup>), apparently a favourite among anti-feminist anecdotes. In Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament, the women, enraged by Papirius's fabrications, convene and open the first parliament of women. The city matrons are represented in the House of Lords, the tradesmen's wives take place in the House of Commons, and pass laws which are highly favourable to women. Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament was reprinted in 1650, but apparently did not sell very well, because Van der Boxe issued the same sheets (A2<sup>r</sup>-C4<sup>v</sup>) with a new title-page, and the addition of Der Vrouwen Advocaet, published in 1651.

Der Vrouwen Advocaet proper only takes up two pages.<sup>128</sup> It contains sixteen articles, written in the spirit of Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament but with a vengeance. The tone of Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament is satirical: the members of this all-female parliament issue laws and decrees enabling both married and unmarried women to live a life of freedom and licence. The sixteen articles in Der Vrouwen Advocaet, however, go one step further: they insist that women should humiliate and abuse their husbands, while failure to comply with these decrees automatically involves a transferral of 'rights' to the husband.

There are, properly speaking, only two 'popular' works on women in this series of books on women published by Van der Boxe: the Recht-banck and Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament, and they were promoted as companion pieces. The title-page of the first edition of Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament claims that it is 'bequaem om te worden gevoecht by de vertaelde recht-banck' ['a convenient addition to the translated arraignment']. Van der Boxe may have

been encouraged to translate and publish Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlement because of the popular success of the Recht-banck.

The first edition which Willem Christiaens van der Boxe issued of the Recht-banck, in 1641, the first in a brief series of books on women, bears a woodcut on the title-page which is copied from the English 'Francis Grove' woodcut. Swetnam, as in the original woodcut, is seated at a table, surrounded by angry women who hurl abuse at him. Unlike the English woodcut, however, the Dutch woodcut features captions, and two more females are added to the company of angry women. One of them is holding a baby. The women call him: 'Guyt', 'Doegeniet', 'Fielt', 'Rofiaen', 'Schelm' and 'Sot', while Swetnam, his hand on an open book, as in the English woodcut, replies philosophically: 'tis al gedaen'.<sup>129</sup> The Dutch woodcut for the 1641 edition is executed in greater and neater detail than the original English one. Instead of the rather bare setting of the English woodcut, the Dutch one adds details: Swetnam and the women are in a room, the door of which is open and gives a view on another house. Because of the captions, and also the expression on the women's faces confronting Swetnam, the Dutch woodcut has greater dramatic force.

Added to the first edition are poems in praise of the translator and his work. The poems are signed 'H.I.D.', 'P.v.H.', and 'I.B.B.B.'. 'P.v.H.' has not been identified, 'I.B.B.B.' may stand for 'Isaac Burchoorn, Boekdrukker en Boekverkoper', while 'H.I.D.' may be H. Duimontius.<sup>130</sup> The most interesting poem, already quoted in part, is that of Isaac Burchoorn, because it affords information on other books translated by Van der Boxe. Burchoorn also contributed a poem to Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlement. He was bookseller in The Hague from 1632 to 1655 but must have known Van der Boxe from his Leyden days.<sup>131</sup> He considered himself a poet, and printed his own works and those of others.<sup>132</sup>

The Dutch edition is typographically superior to any English edition. All the editions of The Arraignment of Women strike the reader as 'trade editions', brought out because previous editions had sold well. But no particular care was taken over any of these editions, except for the woodcut originally commissioned by Francis Grove in the 1634 and subsequent seventeenth-century editions. The first edition of the Recht-banck, however, is a more careful production: a title-page with a woodcut which is more vivid in execution, and so more appealing, than its English model. A poem on the verso of the title-page advertises the author and his reputation in England.

A full title-page follows. There are several poems to commend the publisher, and to apologize to the female audience for this Recht-banck: only the bad sort of women are, predictably, arraigned. Isaac Burchoorn contributed a rather uncompromising poem, the title of which is 'Dagh-vaerding aen alle korsselfige en wispeltuyrige Manne-quelsters'. ['Summons to all crabbed and froward husband-torturers']. This title is very much in the spirit of the title of Swetnam's attack on women. There are running titles for the two parts of the text, the Recht-banck proper and the Beeren-jacht. There are hardly any misprints in the text, another proof of careful printing practice. The text and the epistles are set in black letter, but the commendatory poems are printed in italic, roman and black letter.

Van der Boxe also went over the text carefully. Many proverbial sayings in the text, as well as quotations, are set in roman. Van der Boxe probably found the transition between the encomium, ending with a consideration of a woman's pain in childbirth, and the return to the Ovidian remedies of love (II<sup>r</sup> in The Araignment of Women), a bit sudden as well: his solution was to separate the two parts by means of spacing, and to begin the passage containing the remedies of love with: 'Tot Besluydt' ['Conclusion']. In the Beeren-jacht he also separates, by means of spacing, the last part, which begins, in The Araignment of Women, 'Thou maist thinke that I have spoken inough concerning Widdowes' (I4<sup>r</sup>), from the preceding part, and starts this last part with a large intial 'M'. This transition also was too sudden in the original text.

The poem on the verso of A1 advertises the 'Recht-banck':

Dees' Autheur, met goede Reden,  
Ontdeckt der Vrouwen ydelheden  
En haer Wispeltuyrichey  
Heeft hij ons recht uyt geleyt:  
Zij gaen hierom hem seer haten  
Binnenshuis, en op de straten.  
En zij noemen dese quant  
H a t e k o u s in E N G E L A N D T.133

The poem mentions that Swetnam was known as a 'Woman-Hater' ('Hate-kous') in England. The author of this poem (Van der Boxe?) must have had some knowledge therefore of the commotion which The Araignment of Women had caused in England, and he possibly also knew of Swetnam's reputation as the 'Woman-hater' of the play.

The number of editions which Van der Boxe issued of the Recht-banck is not known, but the 1649 edition is advertised as the third edition,<sup>134</sup> sold in

three separate parts, and corrected. The first part is the Recht-banck proper, the second part is the Beeren-jacht, which did not have a separate title-page in the 1641 edition. The third part, according to the title-page, was never before printed in Dutch, and is called Recht-banck tegen de Regeersuchtige Vrouwen [The Arraignment of Tyrannous Women].<sup>135</sup> The title-page claims that Joseph Swetnam is the author of this third part, and he is also upgraded from 'gentleman' to 'nobleman'.<sup>136</sup> Although in the first edition of The Arraignment of Women Swetnam made known his intention to publish another book soon,<sup>137</sup> there is no evidence of a sequel in the Registers of the Stationers' Company or STC. None of his opponents discussed a sequel, and the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women does not refer to a second book. Rachel Spaght, the first respondent in the controversy, published a poem in 1621 in which she comments retrospectively on the controversy, but again there is no mention of a sequel written by Swetnam.<sup>138</sup>

Van der Boxe may have wished to promote the third part as another product of the popular Joseph Swetnam. He took one of the two Epistles to the Reader<sup>139</sup> from the Recht-banck and prefixed it to the third part. The third part is set in dialogue form between 'Joseph' ('den Autheur') and 'Socrates' and is, as advertised, 'een kortswijlige 't samen-koutinge' ['an amusing dialogue']. Latin is quoted throughout the dialogue, internal evidence which suggests that Swetnam, who 'never went to Schoole six moneths in my life', cannot have been the author.<sup>140</sup> Neither The Schoole of Defence, nor The Arraignment of Women, give reason to doubt Swetnam's sincerity here.

It is therefore likely that Van der Boxe added the third part under Joseph Swetnam's name to boost sales. Either the Recht-banck on its own did not sell sufficiently, or, perhaps more likely, Van der Boxe felt it profitable to bring out another - alleged - product of this 'Cluchthoofdigen Poët'. The fact that Joseph Swetnam is a participant in the dialogue, and provides most of the comedy, seems to point to Van der Boxe's promotion of Joseph Swetnam as a writer of farce. The addition of a dialogue with such an obvious dependence on the comical reputation of one of the participants, would not seem to make much sense if Swetnam as an author of humorous prose had not established a certain degree of popularity with his Dutch readers.

The third edition also differs from the first in the addition of another poem in praise of the translator, signed 'M. Mat.',<sup>141</sup> a few poems by Van der Boxe himself, and a 'Byvoechsel' ['Supplement']. The 'Byvoechsel' (G2<sup>r</sup>-G4<sup>r</sup>) contains two Characters taken from Sir Thomas Overbury's A Wife, and two

other, unidentified, poems on the 'quid est mulier?' theme.<sup>142</sup> Van der Boxe also added a four-line poem, 'Den Oversetter aen het Vrouw-Volck' ['The Translator to the Female Sex'], containing a conciliatory message concerning Joseph Swetnam and the Recht-banck:

Ick bidd u Vrouwen-volck, en wilt u niet verstooren,  
Dat desen Man aen all, uw quaetheyt dus laet hooren:  
Hebt daer niet meed' te doen. Al zijt ghy noch soo quaet,  
Daer is niet eenen Man, die uw' des te meerder haet.<sup>143</sup>

After Van der Boxe's last edition of the Recht-banck in 1649, the Amsterdam bookseller Jan Jacobsz Bouman came out with another edition in 1662. Bouman's sales address is given in the imprint of his edition of the Recht-banck as 'op 't Water tegen over de Koorn-marckt in de Lelye onder de Doornen'. He printed from 1644 to 1671.<sup>144</sup> Bouman's edition of 1662 is a straightforward reprint of the 1649 edition, including the third part, new to the 1649 edition. The woodcut on the title-page is carefully copied from the Van der Boxe cut.<sup>145</sup> Bouman printed a number of (translations of) English books in his career, but he did not publish any companion pieces to the Recht-banck, as Van der Boxe had done fifteen years earlier.<sup>146</sup>

Eight years after Bouman's edition, the Amsterdam bookseller and bookbinder Michiel de Groot, active from 1656 to 1682,<sup>147</sup> brought out an edition of the Recht-banck. This edition is a reprint of Bouman's edition of 1662. The woodcut on the title-page is again copied from the earlier edition, which De Groot used as copy-text. Like Bouman, De Groot printed a number of originally English books, and concentrated on reprints of English devotional works.<sup>148</sup> A number of works printed by Bouman were also part of De Groot's output.<sup>149</sup>

The next, and for the second time enlarged, edition of the Recht-banck came out in 1687 in Utrecht. It was published by Jurriaen van Poolsum, a printer who was active from 1669 to 1690.<sup>150</sup> This edition follows the tradition of straightforward reprints of Bouman and De Groot, although Van Poolsum added a small conventional poem entitled 'Toe-gift' ['Encore'].<sup>151</sup> The Recht-banck is the odd one out in Van Poolsum's output of translations of English works. Like De Groot before him, he seems to have published mainly devotional works.<sup>152</sup>

New is the addition of another part, advertised on the title-page as 'een t'Samenspraeck, of de Vrouwen Menschen zijn, of niet, tusschen twee geestelicke Personen' ['a dialogue, to determine whether or not women are human beings, between two religious men']. This dialogue, which is a debate

in the scholastic tradition between a Jesuit, Father Eugenius, and a Benedictine monk, Brother Andries, is on the whole serious rather than humorous in tone and as such it does not really fit in with the earlier addition, the dialogue between Joseph and Socrates, which was probably added by Van der Boxe to enhance the 'humorous' nature of the Recht-banck. Ian Maclean in Woman Triumphant refers to a work mentioned in Johann Peter Lotz's Gynaicologia (Rinteln, 1630) which is probably the original of the Dutch translation: Grund- und probierliche Beschreibung/ Argument und Schlussartikel [...] belangend die Frag/ Ob die Weiber Menschen sein/ oder nicht?, which was printed in 1615 and reprinted in 1643. The German work is an extended version of the Disputatio nova contra mulieres qui probatur eas homines non esse, published in 1595.<sup>153</sup>

Eugenius makes it clear that this debate is really a rhetorical exercise: 'Wat wij hier discouren dat blijft onder ons/ en oock is dit niet vreemt/ dat er onder geleerden somtijds disputen by gebracht worden/ want sy dienen daer toe/ dat die yets leeren willen/ hier door geslepen worden/ en voor die/ die yets geleert hebben/ is het dienstelijck om haer verstandt daer mede te ververschen/ ende memorie wacker te maken' ['What we shall discuss here, is between you and me only, neither is it strange, that debates are sometimes held amongst scholars, because they are intended to teach those willing to learn, to sharpen their wits, and as for those already learned, it is profitable to refresh their minds with these debates, and to sharpen the memory'] (L3<sup>v</sup>). This he gives in reply to Brother Andries's worried question, whether their respective religious orders, the Benedictines and the Jesuits, are not opposed to the defence of women: 'Want ick kan niet anders bevinden/ of wij zijn van een conscientie wege schuldigh van beyde zijden ons meer tegen der wijven defensie te stellen/ als dat wij haer defenderen souden' ['Because I cannot but conclude that we are bound for conscience sake rather to oppose women's defence, than to defend them']. Father Eugenius is described on the title-page of the Fourth Part as the champion of women, Brother Andries as the enemy of women.

Van Poolsum's edition is the last known seventeenth-century edition. The next extant edition was published in 1730, by the widow of Jacobus van Egmont.<sup>154</sup> Van Egmont's edition is a reprint of the 1687 edition and includes the Fourth Part, new to the Van Poolsum edition. Van Egmont, like Van Poolsum, spells Swetnam's name as 'Zwetnam'. The woodcut which Van Egmont used for the title-pages of the first three parts appears to be the same

which was used by Bouman for his 1662 edition.<sup>155</sup> The woodcut used for the Fourth Part is different from the woodcut used by Van Poolsum.

The last recorded edition, printed by Isaak van der Putte, who was active from 1711 to 1748, bears no date, but was probably printed after 1728, when Van der Putte took over the printing shop 'Op 't Water in de Lootsman', which is the address given in the imprint of his edition of the Recht-banck.<sup>156</sup> He took over the shop 'in de Lootsman' from Jacobus Conijnenburgh. It is interesting to note that when Catalijne Lootsman, the widow of both Michiel de Groot and Abraham van der Meer, also a bookseller, died in 1719, Jacobus Conijnenburgh, bookseller 'op 't Water in de Lootsman', became the sole heir, together with Anthonie Conijnenburgh, Minister, of her property. Isaac van der Putte is mentioned as the heir of Gijbert de Groot, the nephew of Michiel de Groot, along with Jan van Heekeren (Van der Putte's father-in-law) and Anthony Hazebroek.<sup>157</sup>

Van der Putte's edition of the Recht-banck seems to have been published after Van Egmont's edition. He omits passages,<sup>158</sup> and generally reduces the length of the original Van der Boxe translation (he eliminates most of the doublets for instance). Van der Putte's edition of the Recht-banck omits the Epistle to the Reader ('Des Autheurs Opdracht-brief In 't Engels geschreven Aen 't gemeen Gheslacht der Vrouwen'), the commendatory verses by Isaac Burchoorn and others, and Willem Christiaens van der Boxe's own poems. Van der Putte does reprint the second Epistle to the Reader, prefixed by Van der Boxe to the third part, and reprinted as such in all subsequent editions. He also omits the fourth part, added to the 1687 edition and reprinted in the 1730 edition.

The woodcut is again copied from the earlier editions, but it is not as finely executed as the Van der Boxe and Bouman cuts. The seventeenth-century ruffs, lace collars and coifs have been replaced by contemporary dress. The last edition of the Recht-banck is therefore the least attractive one typographically. Van der Putte did not take the care (in reprinting the commendatory verses for example) which Bouman and De Groot had taken in the 1660s and 1670s, Van Poolsum in 1687, and the widow Van Egmont in 1730. Since the text of the edition which Van Egmont printed in 1730 follows the Van Poolsum text, Van der Putte's edition, with its omissions and reductions, was probably printed after 1730. If his edition precedes Van Egmont's edition, however, then the latter obviously ignored Van der Putte's edition as a possible copy-text.



The Dutch publishing history of the Recht-banck, although more modest in scope than that of the English original (four extant reprints in the seventeenth century and two in the eighteenth century, around the time of the last 'trade' edition of The Araignment of Women in England) is interesting not in the least because of the person of the translator and first publisher, Van der Boxe. Although perhaps limited in number, the fact of six surviving Dutch editions of the translated The Araignment of Women points in itself to a steady popularity in the Republic. The two eighteenth-century reprints some fifty years after the last seventeenth-century edition show that the Recht-banck was still considered to possess sufficient selling power.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

The publishing history of The Araignment of Women begins in 1615, when Thomas Archer brought out the first edition, and ends in 1807 with the antiquarian reprint of The Araignment of Women. The many editions in the seventeenth century, continuing into the first half of the eighteenth century, are a measure of its popularity.

Apart from the eighteen extant editions of The Araignment of Women, Lowndes records editions (now apparently lost) of 1632 and 1662. Anthony Wood, who owned copies of the 1628, 1637 and 1645 editions, noted that there was another edition, published in 1621. The sale catalogue of Thomas Jolley, a nineteenth-century book collector, furthermore mentions a 1711 edition. This, together with Hazlitt's mention of a 1654 edition, would increase the number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions by five.<sup>159</sup>

The Araignment of Women also found a foreign audience when it was translated and published in Leyden in 1641 by the Dutch bookseller Willem Christiaens van der Boxe. That The Araignment of Women struck a chord in the Dutch Republic is evidenced by the fact that Van der Boxe reprinted his Recht-banck tegen de Luye, Korzelige, en Wispeltuyrige Vrouwen twice, in [?1645] and in 1649, by three further editions in the seventeenth century, and two eighteenth-century editions. Already on the occasion of its first publication, the Recht-banck was noted for its entertainment value. Van der Boxe's description of Swetnam as a 'Cluchthoofdigen Poët' ['a farcical poet'] indicates that he did not take the pamphlet too seriously.

Up to the last 'trade' edition of The Araignment of Women some attention has been paid to the presentation, and thus to the qualification of the

pamphlet as a popular production. The woodcuts of ladies dressed in farthingales, which were also common on the title-pages of editions of plays and ballads, would have placed The Araignment of Women immediately in the category of popular literature. In the 1634 edition, a new woodcut was introduced, specially executed for The Araignment of Women, with definite bearing on title and text, and perhaps also referring to the play that had appeared in 1620, which had a woodcut featuring Swetnam tried at the bar.

The 1634 woodcut is maintained in all subsequent seventeenth-century editions, until the first eighteenth-century edition for B. Deacon, when the format is changed to duodecimo. Even though there were five editions in the early eighteenth century, three for B. Deacon, one for Thomas Norris, and the last one for a syndicate of booksellers, the addition of the 'Second Part: containing Merry Dialogues, Witty Poems, and Jovial Songs' in 1704 would seem to indicate that The Araignment of Women on its own was no longer considered to possess sufficient selling power. In 1807, finally, The Araignment of Women is published as an antiquarian curiosity, probably considered sufficiently remote both in time and nature to warrant a re-issue.

## Chapter 5

### Bibliographical Descriptions

In the quasi-facsimile description of the title-pages of each edition, original italics are underlined, large and small capital letters are represented by capital letters. Swash letters are indicated by the sign <.>, and noted separately at the end of each description. Black letter is represented by the sign # before and after each word. Long s is indicated within <>.

In the quasi-facsimile descriptions of the title-pages of the Dutch editions, black letter is represented by the sign # before and after each word. Words printed in red ink are represented by the sign \*\* before and after each word. Tailed letters are indicated by the sign [.] , and noted separately at the end of each description.

The location symbols used are:

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| C <sup>10</sup> | Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge            |
| F               | Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.           |
| HD              | Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. |
| HN              | Huntington Library, San Marino, California             |
| KB              | The Royal Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek), The Hague |
| L               | The British Library, London                            |
| L <sup>6</sup>  | Dyce Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London    |
| N               | Newberry Library, Chicago                              |
| O               | Bodleian Library, Oxford                               |
| SAL             | Salisbury Cathedral                                    |
| UBA             | University Library Amsterdam                           |
| UBL             | University Library Leyden                              |
| Y               | Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.    |

The sources referred to in the bibliographical descriptions can be found in the bibliography under III.1.

- Short title Telltroth, Thomas [pseud.]. The Araignment of Women. London, 1615.
- Collation 4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp.[8]1-64. 31 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> Epistle 'to the common sort of women', signed 'Yours in the way of honesty, Thomas Telltroth' (Rom. with Ital. R-T). A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>, The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', signed 'Thy friend nameles, to keepe my selfe blameles' (Rom. with Ital. R-T). A4<sup>v</sup> blank. B-I4<sup>v</sup> (pp.1-64) Text (Rom.)  
Note: D2<sup>v</sup> '21' [20]; D3<sup>r</sup> '20' [21].  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> for; A3<sup>r</sup> little; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; C1<sup>r</sup> credit; D1<sup>r</sup> There; E1<sup>r</sup> keepe; F1<sup>r</sup> BE; G1<sup>r</sup> I was; H1<sup>r</sup> good; I1<sup>r</sup> feele.
- Full Title THE | ARAIGNMENT | Of Lewde, idle, froward, and vncon-  
 (Bodleian <s>tant women: Or the vanitie of them, | choo<s>e you  
 Library copy) whether. | With a Commendacion of wi<s>e, vertuous, |  
 and hone<s>t Women. | Plea<s>ant for married Men,  
 profitable for young Men, | and hurtfull to none. |  
 [woodcut] | LONDON | Printed by Edw: Alde for Thomas  
Archer, and are to be <s>olde at his <s>hop | in Popes-  
 head Pallace nere the Royall Exchange. | 1615.
- (Folger THE | ARAIGNMENT | Of Lewde, idle, froward, and vncon-  
 Shakespeare <s>tant women: Or the vanitie of them, | choo<s>e you  
 Library copy) whether. | With a Commendacion of wi<s>e, vertuous and |  
 and hone<s>t Women. | Plea<s>ant for married Men,  
 profitable for | young Men, and hurtfull | to none. |  
 [woodcut] | LONDON | Printed by Edw: Alde for Thomas  
Archer, and are to be <s>olde at his <s>hop | in Popes-  
 head Pallace nere the Royall Exchange. | 1615.
- Copy described Bodleian Library copy 4<sup>o</sup> H.18 Art. C17 White vellum.  
 Text 144 x 96. Average leaf 180 x 140.
- The Bodleian Library copy is bound with seven other pamphlets, all published in 1614 and 1615 (item 6 is missing):
1. Epigrams Both Pleasant and Serious, by Sir John Harington. London 1615.
  2. The Trades Increase. London 1615.
  3. The Arraignment of Women. London 1615.
  4. A Relation of all Matters passed, especially in France and the Low Countries, touching the causes of the Warre now in Cleveland. London 1614.
  5. The Scourge of Corruption. Written by Anthony Nixon. London 1615.
  7. A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving. Alex. Niccholes, Batchelour in the Art, he never yet practised. 1615.
  8. A Refutation of the Apology for Actors. London 1615.
  9. The Blazon of Jealousie. London 1615'.<sup>1</sup>

1. (1) STC 12775.5; (2) 894.7; (3) 23533; (4) 20862;  
(5) 18590; (7) 18514; (8) 12214; (9) 24593.

This collection is mentioned in Thomas James, Catalogus universalis librorum in bibliotheca Bodleiana, Oxford 1620 C4<sup>r</sup>: 'Arraignement of lewd and idle Women, Lond. 1615'.

Copies noted

O. F.

Folger Shakespeare Library copy 23533. Acquired 26 June catalogue no. 629, item 198.

The Folger Shakespeare Library copy has a variant title-page, as well as variants in the preliminaries and sheets B and G.

Bookplate: Folger Shakespeare Library. Red morocco, gilt-edged, bound by Rivière and Son. Ms. note on E4<sup>v</sup>: the phrase 'coulers of delight' (line 17) is underlined and supplied with a quotation from Spenser's Faerie Queene: 'A ribband, in which his ladys/ colours were'. The reference to book 4, canto 8, stanza 1, of The Faerie Queene is also provided.

SR 8 February 1615: Thomas Archer [m.n.: this is assigned over to ffrancis Grove and entered unto him Anno Domini 1628.]

Entred for his Coppie under the handes of master Doctor NIDD and both the Wardens a booke called The arraignment of Lewd, idle, and unconstant weemen or the vanitie of them chose you whether with the Commendacion of the vertuous wise and and honest woman. vjd.  
(Arber, iii.563)

ABPC 1944, p.507, lists a first edition of A which was sold for \$5 in the Harvard College Library sale of 11 March 1944 (lot 188). It is described as 'old calf, blind, worn, front cover loose, lacks the title-leaf, marginal repairs, last leaf repaired'. This however is a copy of the 1619 edition, which the Folger Shakespeare Library acquired on 11 March 1944 (see E).

Short Title Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1615.

Collation 4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-64. 31 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> Epistle 'to the common sort of women', signed 'Yours in the way of honesty, Joseph Swetnam', (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A4<sup>rv</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', signed, 'Thy friend, Joseph Swetnam', (Ital. with Rom. R-T). B-I4<sup>v</sup> (pp. 1-64) Text (Rom.)  
 Note: D2<sup>v</sup> numbered '21' [should be '20']; D3<sup>r</sup> '20' ['21']  
 C1<sup>v</sup> the '2' in '42' printed upside down  
 Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> macks,; A3<sup>r</sup> past,; A4<sup>r</sup> Snakes,; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; C1<sup>r</sup> credit; D1<sup>r</sup> There; E1<sup>r</sup> keepe; F1<sup>r</sup> BE; G1<sup>r</sup> I was; H1<sup>r</sup> good; I1<sup>r</sup> feele.

Full title THE | ARAIGNMENT | OF LEVVD, IDLE, FRO~ | ward, and vncon<s>tant women: Or | the vanitie of them, choo<s>e you whether. | With a Commendation of wi<s>e, vertuous and | hone<s>t Women. | Plea<s>ant for married Men, profitable for young Men, and | hurtfull to none. | [woodcut] | Printed by George Purslowe for Thomas Archer, and are to be <s>olde | at his <s>hop in Popes-head Pallace, neere the Royall | Exchange. 1615.  
 Note: line 3 Two separate V's for 'W'

Copy described British Library copy C.142.cc.30. C20 half leather, linen boards. Text 145 x 93. Average leaf 172 x 125. Acquired 5 April 1880. This copy once belonged to Richard Farmer, his name 'R. Farmer' is on the recto of one of the flyleaves. Richard Farmer (1735-1797) was dubbed 'the acute bibliomaniac' by Dibdin (Nichols, Literary Anecdotes ii.464). Farmer's library, sold in 1798, was particularly rich in rare Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. He was especially interested in English drama. His notes on his copy of The Araignment of Women, written on the versos of the flyleaves, characteristically begin with the play it provoked: 'There was a play by way of Answer to this scandalous Pamphlet as Langbaine calls it, viz. "Swetnam [the] Woman-Hater, arraigned by women. 4to. 1620". See La. Plays. vol. 4.<sup>1</sup> And a Pamphlet, call'd "A Mouzell for Melastomus, [the] cynical Railer of, [and] foule-mouthed Barker against Evah's sex, by Rachel Spight. 1617". Lond. 4to. Hutton's Catal. 1498.<sup>2</sup> Another call'd The worming of a Mad Dog, or a Soppe for Cerberus [the] Jaylor of Hell, by Constantia Munda. 1617. Another call'd "Esther hath hang'd Ha[man] by Esther Sowernam. 4to". London 1617'.

1. George Langbaine, An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, Oxford 1691 (Wing L 373), p.551.
2. Hutton's sale catalogue of 1764, lot 1498, I2<sup>v</sup>. This entry includes Rachel Spight's A Mouzell for Melastomus and Alexander Niccholes's A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving.

Salisbury Cathedral copy P.5.6. The copy in Salisbury Cathedral belonged to Richard Watson, Prebendary of Bitton in the diocese of Sarum, who donated his collection of books to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury Cathedral on 19 December 1671. On that occasion he presented the Dean and Chapter with 'one Book, entitled TEXTUS MAGISTRI SENTENTIARUM &c in Octavo Printed Anno D[omi]ni 1528', to signify the delivery of his entire library to them. Richard Watson (1612-1685) is characterised in the DNB as a 'royalist divine, controversialist and poet'. The collection of books donated to the Library of Salisbury Cathedral show his interests in the fields of religious and political controversies (mainly contemporary), classical and English history, the Classics, Law and Polemics. There are but few examples of popular literature<sup>1</sup>.

The Arraignment of Women is bound with a number of other items. The contents of this volume are indexed by Watson himself (items 3 and 6 are missing from the volume):

- '1. The Pilgrimage of Man, wandering in a wilderness of woe &c. 1598. By Richard Johnson.
2. The Pilgrimage to Paradise &c. By Leonard Wright: 1591.
3. The Guls Horne-booke, by T. Decker. 1609.
4. The Arraignement of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women, &c. With a commendation of wise, vertuous, and honest women, &c. By Joseph Swetnam. 1615.
5. The Righteous Mans way &c. By Thomas Proctor. 1627.
6. Greenes ghost haunting Coney-catchers. By S.R., 1626.
7. A true and impartial Account of the Arraignment, Tryal, Examination, Confessio[n]s and Condemnation of Col. James Turner, for breaking open the house of Fr. Tryon Merch[ant] in Lime-street London &c. At Justice Hall in the Old Bailey, the 15.16. & 19. Jan[uary] 1663.
8. Jacksons Recantation; or the life and Death of the Notorious High-wayman. Now hanging in chaines at Hampstead; Delivered to a friend a little before his Execution, &c. 1674.
9. A full and true account of the Penitence of John Marketman, During his imprisonment in Chelmsford gaol for murthuring his Wife, with his Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Bonak; that kept her company; Also his confession, & Admonition at [the] place of Execution. To which is prefixed A Sermon preached before him at West Ham in the County of Essex, on Saturday April 1680 immediately before his Execution. By R<sup>i</sup>: Hollingworth M.A., Vicar of West Ham 1680.
10. Articles of direction touching Ale-houses. Munday the 21 of March 1607.

11. [Title wanting]. Christian Hospitality, A Sermon enlarged on Rom. 12.13. (King James towards [the] end of his speech in Star Chamber, the 20 June 1616. About Hospitality to be kept in Eng[land])'.<sup>2</sup>

1. The documents relating to Watson's deed of gift are kept in Press 3, Box "Dean and Chapter" (no.154) in the Cathedral Library of Salisbury.
2. (1) STC 14691.1; (2) 26032; (3) 6500; (4) 23534; (5) 20411; (6) 12244; (7) Wing T 2488; (8) H 1256; (9) F 2308A; (10) unidentified; (11) unidentified; but for King James's speech see STC 14397.

Newberry Library copy case K.7.855. This copy belonged to George Steevens. His autograph is on the verso of the title-page. There are pen trials on several pages of this copy.

This copy was sold by Sotheby's in the sale of J.T. Adams's Library in December 1931, and acquired by the Newberry Library in 1932. It was described as the 'Steevens-Lord Alvanley-H.Cunliffe copy' in BAR 29, p.133. Lowndes vi.2556.



- Short title      Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1616.
- Collation      4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-64. 31 lines  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> Epistle 'to the common sort of women', signed 'Yours in the way of honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A4 'The Epistle to the 'giddy-headed young men', signed 'Thy friend, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). B-I4<sup>v</sup> (Pp.1-64) Text (Rom.)  
Note: B3 and I3 unsigned.  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> macks;; A3<sup>r</sup> past;; A4<sup>r</sup> Snakes;; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; C1<sup>r</sup> credit; D1<sup>r</sup> There; E1<sup>r</sup> keepe; F1<sup>r</sup> BE; G1<sup>r</sup> I was; H1<sup>r</sup> good; I1<sup>r</sup> feele.
- Full title      THE | ARAIGNMENT | OF LEWD, IDLE, FRO- | ward, and vncon<s>tant women: Or | the vanitie of them, choo<s>e you whether. | VVith a Commendation of wi<s>e, | vertuous and hone<s>t Women | Plea<s>ant for married Men, profitable for young | Men, and hurtfull to none. | [woodcut] | L O N D O N: | Printed for Thomas Archer, and are to be <s>old at his <s>hop in Popes- | head Pallace, neere the Royall Exchange. 1616.  
Note: Line 6 'W': two separate V's.
- Copy described      Huntington Library copy RB 47880. Blue calf, gilt-edged. Bound by Charles Lewis.  
 This is probably the copy which was sold in the Richard Heber sale (part vi), day 16, 1835 (lot 3467). It is described in the sale catalogue as a 'fine copy in calf, by Lewis'. Lowndes vi.2556.  
 Sotheby's sold a copy described in BAR 20, p.347, as 'calf extra, gilt-edged by C. Lewis' in the S.R. Christie-Miller sale, 16 March 1922 (lot 647). A.W. Rosenbach acquired this copy at that sale for the Huntington Library.
- Copies noted      HN.

- Short title Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1617.
- Collation 4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-64. 31 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A4 'The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', signed 'Thy friend, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. and Ital. R-T). A2-3<sup>v</sup> Epistle 'to the common sort of Women', signed 'Yours in the way of honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Ital. and Rom. R-T). B-I4<sup>v</sup> (Pp.1-64) Text (Rom.)  
Note: Sequence of preliminaries in BL copy A1, A4, A2, A3.  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> mackes,; A3<sup>r</sup> past,; A4<sup>r</sup> for; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; C1<sup>r</sup> credit; D1<sup>r</sup> There; E1<sup>r</sup> keepe; F1<sup>r</sup> BE; G1<sup>r</sup> I was; H1<sup>r</sup> good; I1<sup>r</sup> feele.
- Full title THE | ARAIGNMENT | OF LEWD, IDLE, FRO- | ward, and vncon<s>tant Women: Or | the vanitie of them; choo<s>e you whether. | With a Commendation of the wi<s>e | vertuous, and hone<s>t Woman. | Plea<s>ant for married men, profitable for young | Men, and hurtfull to none. | [woodcut] | LONDON: | Printed for Thomas Archer, and are to be <s>old at his <s>hop in Popes- | head Pallace, neere the Royall Exchange. 1617.
- Copy described British Library copy C.34.e.8. Gold-tooled green morocco, with Garrick's arms in the centre. Bound by C. Tuckett. Text 141 x 92. Average leaf 163 x 125.  
 This copy was part of the foundation collection of the British Museum and was transferred to the Garrick collection in the 1800s because it is one of the sources of Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women. Garrick owned a copy of the play (Kahr1 1178, 602; Greg 362)  
 This copy was badly cropped and cut to fit the binding scheme originally designed for David Garrick.
- Kahr1 1177
- Copies noted L. HN. HD.
- Huntington Library copy 14626. Calf extra, gold-tooled, gilt-edged. Autograph on the title-page in a contemporary italic hand. Thomas V. Lange, associate curator of Rare Books of the Huntington Library, suggested that the name might be Henry [Dehnes], but this name has not been indentified.  
 Bookplate: Shakesperian Library of Marsden J. Perry. Perry. Perry's Library was bought by Rosenbach in 1919. The Huntington Library probably acquired its copy from Rosenbach.
- Houghton Library, Harvard, copy STC 23536. Acquired by the Houghton Library 23 July 1926. Brown calf, gold-tooled, gilt-edged. Ex Libris Harvard College Library (gift of Ernest Blanes Dane).

Ms. notes in the margins in a secretary hand. The anonymous annotator of this copy jotted down proper names or single words referring to passages in the text.<sup>1</sup> He may have singled these passages out for inclusion in a commonplace book, since most of the passages thus marked concern historical anecdotes, or aphorisms, the stuff of commonplace books. One owner of The Araignment of Women at least (see 2.2.3) demonstrably used his copy for this purpose.

1. E.g. on G1<sup>r</sup>, lines 16-18, next to a warning never to trust secrets to a woman, the annotator puts 'secret'; on G4<sup>v</sup>, line 5, he puts 'Guncalles' where the anecdote refers to the Earl of Guncalles and his wife; on G4<sup>v</sup>, line 18, he notes 'fisherman' next to Pliny's anecdote of the fisherman and his wife; on H1<sup>r</sup>, line 14, 'Alexan[der]' next to the anecdote of Alexander the Great; on I1<sup>r</sup>, lines 12-13, 'child', where the passage refers to the dangers of child-bearing.

A copy of 23536 fetched 8s. in the George Nassau sale, (1824) 11.1180 (Lowndes vi.2556).

- Short title Swetnam, Joseph, The Araignment of Women. London 1619.
- Collation 4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-64. 31 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> Epistle to 'the common sort of Women', signed 'Yours in the way of honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A4 'The Epistle to the 'giddy-headed young men', signed 'Thy friend, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. and Ital. R-T). B-I4<sup>v</sup> (pp.1-64) Text (Rom.)  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> mackes; A3<sup>r</sup> past; A4<sup>r</sup> for; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; C1<sup>r</sup> credit; D1<sup>r</sup> There; E1<sup>r</sup> keepe; F1<sup>r</sup> BE; G1<sup>r</sup> I was; H1<sup>r</sup> good; I1<sup>r</sup> feele.
- Full title THE | ARAIGNMENT | OF LEWD, IDLE, FRO- | ward, and vncon<s>tant Women: Or | the vanitie of them; choo<s>e you whether. | With a Commendation of the wi<s>e, | vertuous, and hone<s>t Woman. | Plea<s>ant for married men, profitable for young | Men, and hurtfull to none. | [woodcut] | LONDON: | Printed for Thomas Archer, and are to be <s>old at his <s>hop in Popes- | head Pallace neere the Royall Exchange. 1619.
- Copy described British Library copy C.40.c.34(1). Acquired 14 March 1944. C19 plain white vellum on paper boards. Text 141 x 92. Average leaf 171 x 123.  
 Bookplate: Joseph Tasker. Ms. notes in a secretary hand in the margins of B2<sup>r</sup> ('Catherine') and D2<sup>r</sup> ('Deare dear charmer of nature'). Pen trials on F4<sup>v</sup>, H1<sup>r</sup>.  
 This copy is bound together with a copy of Esther hath hang'd Haman (imperfect; lacking sheets A and E). There is a ms. note in a contemporary italic hand on H3<sup>v</sup> of this copy: 'Amie: Billie hir booke wittnes by twentye men twentye women and 30 children'.
- Copies noted L. F. HD.

Folger Shakespeare Library 23537 (Ex libris Walter Raleigh). Imperfect; title-page missing, supplied in facsimile by I. Reed, from the 1615 Purslowe edition. Signature on A3<sup>v</sup>, A4<sup>v</sup> and B1<sup>r</sup>. Folger Shakespeare Library Bookplate. Purchased at the Harvard College Library sale of duplicates on 11 March 1944 (see A).

Houghton Library, Harvard copy 23537. This copy belonged to W.A. White.

Copies of 23537 fetched £3 in the Gordounstoun sale (lot 2157), and £1.1s. in the Gardner sale (lot 2240). Lowndes vi.2556.

Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun is described on the title-page of the sale catalogue of his library (1816) as 'One of the gentlemen of the Bedchamber of King James I and King Charles I, Vice Chamberlain, one of the Lords of the Privy Council, and Premier Baronet of Scotland'.

He is the earliest known owner of The Araignment of Women, and also owned copies of the three responses in the controversy as well as the play (lots 2157-2161). In all, the sale catalogue of Sir Robert Gordon's library ran to 2421 lot numbers.

- Short title Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1622.
- Collation 4<sup>o</sup>: A-14 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-64. 31 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2<sup>v</sup>-A3<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to 'the common sort of Women', signed 'Yours in the way of honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A4<sup>r</sup><sup>v</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', signed 'Thy friend, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). B-14<sup>v</sup> (pp.1-64) Text (Rom.)  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> it; A3<sup>r</sup> past; A4<sup>r</sup> powder; B1<sup>r</sup> past; C1<sup>r</sup> Dia-; D1<sup>r</sup> There; E1<sup>r</sup> keepe; F1<sup>r</sup> BE; G1<sup>r</sup> I was; H1<sup>r</sup> Tree; I1<sup>r</sup> feede.
- Full title THE | ARRAIGNMENT | OF LEWD, IDLE, FROWARD, | and uncon<s>tant Women: Or, the Va- | nitie of them, chu<s>e you whether. | With a Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Ver- | tuous, and Honest Woman. | Plea<s>ant for married men, profitable for young | men, and hurtfull to none. | [woodcut] | LONDON, | Printed by Bernard Alsop for Thomas Archer, and are to be <s>old at his <s>hop in Popes-head Pallace, neere | the Royall Exchange. 1622.
- Copy described Folger Shakespeare Library copy F.23538. Green morocco, gilt-edged, bound by Morley of Oxford. Bookplates in this copy from the library of Sir Leicester Harmsworth, Bart., and the Folger Shakespeare Library. The Folger Library acquired the Harmsworth collection in 1938.  
 There are ms. notes on the title-page in a contemporary hand left and right of the wood-cut:  
 'Intolerabili[us] nihil est qua[m] femina dives. Juvenalis 59. [satire 6, 460]. Prodigia non sentit pereuntem foe[m]ina censu[m]. Ju. 56. [satire 6, 362]. Nulla fera causa est in qua non foemina litem moverit. Juvenal 51. [satire 6, 242-3]. vid. Juvenal. 47.52.53.59.60. Dux malorum faemina haec scelera artifex. Sen. 52. [Phaedra 559]. Faemina nulla bona est, vel, si bona contigit ulla. Nescio quo fato res mala facta bona est. [Walther 9135]. Crede ratem ventis, animum ne crede puellis, namque est faemine tutior unda fide. Pet. Arbiter. [Walther 3662]. Faemineum servile genus, crudele, superbum, lege, modo, ratione caret &ct. Mantuan. [Eclogues iv.110-1]. Adam Sampsonem[m] Loth Davide[m] Solomonem, Faemina decept; quis modo tutus erit?' [Walther 519].  
 Several passages in the text are underlined, while the passage commenting on the brevity of physical desire (F3<sup>r</sup>, lines 26-30) is underlined and marked with a pointing hand, a statement apparently of some moment to this reader.
- Copies noted F.  
 A copy of 23538 fetched £1.1s. in the North sale (111.681) of 1819 (Lowndes vi.2556).

Sotheby's sold a copy of P in a sale of Printed Books  
on March 14 1920 to B. Quaritch for £20 (lot 203).

- Short title Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1628.
- Collation 4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-64. 31 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to 'the common sort of women', signed 'Yours in the way of honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom R-T). A4<sup>r</sup> 'The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', signed 'Thy friend, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). B-B-I4<sup>v</sup> (pp.1-64) Text (Rom.)  
 Note: '4' (B2<sup>v</sup>) printed upside down  
 E3<sup>v</sup> printed '31', E4<sup>r</sup> '30'  
 Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> in; A3<sup>r</sup> Indeed; A4<sup>r</sup> these; B1<sup>r</sup> That; C1<sup>r</sup> Dia-; E1<sup>r</sup> keepe; F1<sup>r</sup> BE; G1<sup>r</sup> I was; H1<sup>r</sup> Tree; I1<sup>r</sup> see.
- Full title THE | ARRAIGNMENT | of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and | vncon<s>tant Women: | OR, | The vanitie of them; chu<s>e you whether. | WITH, | A Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Vertuous, and | Hone<s>t Woman. | Pleasant for Married Men, profitable for Young-men, & hurtful to none. | [rule] | [woodcut] | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by A.M. for Thomas Archer, and are to be <s>old at his | Shop in Popes-head Pallace, neere the Royall Exchange. 1628.
- Copy described Bodleian Library copy Wood 499(v). Contemporary calf, blind tooled / ruled. Text 149 x 95. Average leaf 172 x 127.  
 This copy belonged to Anthony Wood, who also owned copies of later editions of The Araignment of Women. It is bound with nine other items (among which is the 1645 edition). There is a ms. index on one of the fly-leaves:  
 '1. A narrative of [the] difference between Mr Busby and m<sup>r</sup> Bagshawe [the] 1st and 2nd M[inisters] of Westminster School.  
 2. Scribend ratio literas italicas curiosas &c.  
 3. The Meane in spending.  
 4. The Royall Exchange by Rob<sup>t</sup> Green M.A.  
 5. The vanitie [of] Lewd idle Women, w[ith] [the] Com[m]endation of [the] wise and vertuous.  
 6. A caution for [the] credulous by Ed. Sutton. B.D.  
 7. The same w[ith] V.  
 8. A Treatise of Usurie.  
 9. A Treatise of Use and Customs.  
 10. De Puncto primo Geometriciae Lib.<sup>1</sup>  
 1. (1) Wing B 426; (2) Printed at Antwerpen 1556 by John Richard. Epistle to the Reader signed 'Gerardus Merca'; (3) STC 17760; (4) 12307; (5) 23538; (6) 23496; (7) Wing S 6251; (8) STC 10806; (9) 4753; (10) Henry de Monantheuill, Printed at Leyden, 1600.
- Copies noted L.O.(2)



British Library copy C.142.aa.22. Quarter leather.  
Acquired 3 May 1876.

The British Library copy has a bookplate by the eighteenth-century antiquary J. Brand, and a ms. note by J.O. Halliwell on the recto of one of the fly-leaves: 'A beautiful copy of the only copy [sic] of this edition - an edition not mentioned by Lowndes or Bohn'.

Douce S.215. Quarter leather, gold-tooled on spine.  
Francis Douce bookplate.

Ms. notes on the fly-leaf: 'M. Steevens had an edition of this copy printed 1615. 4to, which at his sale produced 11.13.0. Swetnam's work was attacked in an anonymous play intituled "Swetnam the Woman-hater arraigned by women" 1620. 4to. M. Heber had an edition printed 1616, 4to for Thomas Archer. The cut in the frontispiece is a woman holding a feathered fan, but not from the same block used in the present edition'.

SR 10 September 1628: **Francis Grove**

Assigned over unto him by Consent of **Thomas Archer**, and under the hand of Master **Weaver** Warden. all the estate right title and interest which he the said **Thomas Archer** had in the Copie hereafter mencioned viz<sup>t</sup> The Arraignment of Woman [sic] by JOSEPH SWETNAM. **vjd.**  
(Arber, iv.202)

Short title Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. Edinburgh 1629.

Collation 8<sup>o</sup>: A-E7 (\$4). 39 leaves. Pp. [8]1-70. 31 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to 'the common sort of Women', signed, 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Thomas Tel-trouth' (Rom. with Ital. R-T). A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', signed 'Thy friend namelesse, To keepe myselfe blamelesse' (Rom. with Ital. R-T). A4<sup>v</sup> blank. A5-E7<sup>v</sup> Text (Rom.)

Note: this copy badly cropped; no pagination.

A4 unsigned.

Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> stroues; A3<sup>r</sup> them; B1<sup>r</sup> to; C1<sup>r</sup> vn-; D1<sup>r</sup> if; E1<sup>r</sup> remem-.

Full title THE | ARAIGNMENT | Of Lewde, idle, froward, and  
unconstant wo- | men: Or, the vanitie of them, choose  
 you | whether. With a commendation of wi<s>e, |  
 vertuous, and honest Woman. | Plea<s>ant for married  
 Men, profitable for | young Men, and hurtfull to none. |  
 [woodcut] | E D I N B U R G H | Printed by Iohn  
Wreittoun. 1629.

Aldis 719.

Copy described British Library copy 12352.aa.28. C19 red calf, gold-tooled, gilt-edged. Text 127 x 77. Average leaf 137 x 85. Acquired 2 July 1864.

Pen trials on title-page.

Copies noted L.

N.K. Kiesling, The Library of Robert Burton, Oxford: The Bibliographical Society, New Series vol.22, 1988, p.295, lists a copy of this edition (no. 1560) as part of Burton's library. The copy is unlocated.

- Short title Swetnam, Joseph. The Arraignment of Women. London 1634.
- Collation 4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4<sup>v</sup> (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-63 [1]. 32 lines. A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to 'the common sort of women', signed 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A4<sup>r</sup><sup>v</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Rom. with Ital. and Rom. R-T). B-I4<sup>r</sup> (pp.1-63) Text (Rom.) I4<sup>v</sup> blank.  
Note: D3 unsigned in Bodleian Library copy; signed in British Library copy.  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> and; A3<sup>r</sup> open; A4<sup>r</sup> be; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; C1<sup>r</sup> Diamond; D1<sup>r</sup> -ton; E1<sup>r</sup> hath; F1<sup>r</sup> Ploughes; G1<sup>r</sup> and; H1<sup>r</sup> what; I1<sup>r</sup> what.
- Full title THE | ARRAIGNMENT | of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and | Vncon<s>tant Women: | OR, | The vanitie of them; chu<s>e you whether. | WITH | A Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Vertuous, and | Hone<s>t Women. | Pleasant for married-Men profitable for Young- | Men, and hurtfull to none. | [woodcut] | Printed at London by T. C. and are to be <s>old by F. Grove, at his Shop, at [the] | upper-end of Snow=hill, neere the Sarazens head without New=gate 1634.  
Note: Title-page badly cropped in this copy, shaving the initial 'G' in woodcut, and 'the' in the imprint.
- Copy described Bodleian Library copy Tanner 251 (6). Contemporary calf, blind-tooled. Text 148 x 97. Average leaf 176 x 128.  
 This copy belonged to Bishop Thomas Tanner who in 1733 bequeathed his manuscripts and printed books to the Bodleian Library.  
 Bound with five other items:  
 1. The Triumphs over Death, London 1596. 4<sup>o</sup> [Added in ms. 'Rob: Southwell']  
 2. The Adventures of Ladie Egeria. Published by W.C. Maister of Art. London [n.d.] ['Thomas Tanner' at the foot of the tp.]  
 3. Choice, chance and change: or, Conceits in their colours. London 1606.  
 4. The Witches of Northamptonshire. London 1612.  
 5. Tico Brahe his Astronomically Conjecture [...] which Appered in the year 1572. London 1632.  
 6. The Arraignment of Women. London 1634.<sup>1</sup>  
 1. (1) STC 22971; (2) 4315; (3) 3636; (4) 3907; (5) 3538; (6) 23541.
- Copies noted L. O.  
 British Library copy 8415.e.9. C19 brown calf, blind stamped, gilt-edged. Acquired 13 March 1947 (nr. 893). The leaves of this copy are numbered 1549-1614.  
 SR 9 November 1633:

Master **Richard Cotes**

Assigned over to him by vertue of a Note under the hand  
and seale of **ffrancis Grove** and subscribed by Master  
Aspley warden all the estate right Title and interest  
which the said **ffrancis** hath in Copies hereafter  
mencioned **6s.6d.**

The knott of ffooles

Loves garland

History of Doctor FFAUSTUS in verse

The Gentle Craft in verse

OVID de Tristibus in English verse

Mistris MONEY

The arraignment of Weomen

ROBIN HOOD

The King and poore Northerne Man

ffrier BACON in prose

ROBIN GOODFELLOW

CUPIDS Schoole of Complements in two parts with the

Praise of Love

Garland of Withered Roses

(Arber, iv.308)

- Short title      Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1637.
- Collation      4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-63[1]. 32 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2<sup>r</sup>-A3<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to 'the common sort of women', signed 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). The Epistle to the ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Rom. with Rom. and Ital. R-T). B-I4<sup>r</sup> (pp.1-63) Text (Rom.) I4<sup>v</sup> blank.  
Note: '35' (F2<sup>r</sup>) misprinted '38'.  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> and; A3<sup>r</sup> open; A4<sup>r</sup> -spert; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; C1<sup>r</sup> Diamond; D1<sup>r</sup> -ton; E1<sup>r</sup> hath; F1<sup>r</sup> Ploughes; G1<sup>r</sup> and; H1<sup>r</sup> what; I1<sup>r</sup> what.
- Full title      THE | ARRAIGNMENT | of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and |  
 Vncon<s>tant Women: | OR, | The vanity of them, chu<s>e  
you whether. | WITH | A Commendation of the Wi<s>e,  
 Vertuous, and | Hone<s>t Woman. | Pleasant for married  
Men, profitable for Young- | M<.>en, and hurtfull to  
none. | [woodcut] | Printed at London by T. C. for F.  
 Gro. and are to be <s>old at his Shop, at t[he] | upper-  
 end of Snow-hill, neere the Sarazens head without New-  
 gate. 1637.  
Note: Line 11 swash 'M'.  
 Title-page cropped, shaving the initial 'G' in the woodcut and the letters 'he' in the imprint.
- Copy described      Dyce copy, Victoria and Albert Museum 26,9591 Box 45/3.  
 Text 148 x 99. Average leaf 180 x 125.  
 C.T.A. Dyce's signature on one of the fly-leaves.
- Copies noted      L<sup>6</sup>. 0.  
 Bodleian Library copy Wood 654a(3). Blue paper boards, white spine (Oxford trade binding). The Bodleian Library copy of the 1637 edition has ms. notes by Wood on the title-page, also on the flyleaf facing the title-page: 'Jos. Swetnam [the] Author', underneath the imprint: 'an edition of this booke came out in 1645 at Lond. but not so fine as this', and: 'Another edit. in 1621'.  
 This copy is bound with 33 other items, all relating to women, most of them Civil War tracts, and anti-parliamentarian in spirit.  
 A copy of 23542 fetched 7 shillings in the Nassau sale, 11.1181 (Lowndes vi.2556).

- Short title      Swetnam, Joseph. *The Araignment of Women*. London 1645.
- Collation      4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-63[1]. 32 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> Epistle to 'the common sort of women', signed 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A4<sup>rv</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Rom. with Ital. and Rom. R-T). B-I4<sup>r</sup> (pp.1-63) Text (Rom.). I4<sup>v</sup> blank.  
 Note: D1<sup>v</sup> misprint '81' for '18' in this copy.  
 Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> and; A3<sup>r</sup> open; A4<sup>r</sup> spect; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly;  
 C1<sup>r</sup> Diamond; D1<sup>r</sup> ton; E1<sup>r</sup> hath; F1<sup>r</sup> ploughes; G1<sup>r</sup> and; H1<sup>r</sup> what; I1<sup>r</sup> what.
- Full title      THE | ARRAIGNMENT | of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and |  
 Uncon<s>tant Women: | OR, | The vanity of them, chu<s>e  
 you whether. | WITH | A commendation of the Wi<s>e,  
 Vertuous, and Hone<s>t VWoman. | Plea<s>ant for Married-  
 Men, profitable for young-Men, | and hurtfull to none. |  
 [woodcut] | Printed at London by Richard Cotes. 1645.  
 Note: Line 8 two separate V's for 'W'.
- Copy described      British Library copy C.136.f.18. Red morocco, gold-tooled, by F. Bedford. Text 146 x 99. Average leaf 191 x 138. Acquired 28 February 1979.  
 This copy belonged to Frances Wolfreton. B1<sup>r</sup>: 'Frances Wolfreton hor bouk'.  
 Frances Wolfreton is the only known female owner of a copy of *The Araignment of Women*. She was born in 1607, and was an avid collector of books. Her interests as a book collector were wide although predominantly literary.<sup>1</sup> Her collection remained intact until the nineteenth century, when the Wolfreton family, in 1856, sold the library which contained her collection and those of other members of the family. *The Araignment of Women* was lot 371 in the Wolfreton sale.  
 Allibone refers to this edition as 'a very rare edition, printed by R. Cotes, 1645, 4to; B. Quaritch, 1868, 12724, uncut, red. mor. by F. Bedford', which was offered for £21. [Presumably this copy.] He also notes that he and Quaritch believed this copy to be unique.  
 1. J. Gerritsen, 'Venus Preserved: Some Notes on Frances Wolfreton', *English Studies Presented to R.W. Zandvoort, Supplement to English Studies*, 45 (1964), pp.271-4.  
 P. Morgan, 'Frances Wolfreton and "Hor Bouks": A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book Collector', in *Shakespeare. Text, Language, Criticism. Essays in Honour of Marvin Spevack*, eds. B. Fabian and K. Tetzeli von Rosador, Hildesheim 1987, pp.193-211.
- Copies noted      L. O.  
 Bodleian Library copy Wood 499 (vii).

The preliminaries (sheet A) are worm-eaten and much worn. The title-page is badly cropped. A ms. note by Wood on the title-page reads: 'Duplicate'. For the contents of Wood 499 see G.

- Short title      Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1660.
- Collation      4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-63[1]. 32 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> the Epistle to 'the common sort of Women', signed 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A4<sup>r</sup><sup>v</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Rom. with Ital. and Rom. R-T). B-I4<sup>r</sup> (pp.1-63) Text (Rom.) I4<sup>v</sup> blank.  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> and; A3<sup>r</sup> open; A4<sup>r</sup> be; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; D1<sup>r</sup> -ton; E1<sup>r</sup> hath; F1<sup>r</sup> Ploughes; G1<sup>r</sup> and; H1<sup>r</sup> what; I1<sup>r</sup> what.
- Full title      THE | ARRAIGNMENT | of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Uncon<s>tant WOMEN : | OR, | The VANITY of them; chu<s>e you whether. | WITH | A Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Vertuous, and Honest Women. | Plea<s>ant for Married-Men, profitable for Young-Men, and hurtfull to none. | [woodcut] | London, Printed by E. C. for F. Grove, on Snow-hill, near the Sarazens-head, 1660.
- Copy described      Bodleian Library copy Ashmole 1034 (15). Contemporary calf, blind stamped, blind ruled (spine repaired). Text 149 x 97. Average leaf 176 x 130.  
 Elias Ashmole left his library to Oxford University in 1682. A ms. note on G3<sup>r</sup>: 'old verses' written in top right margin.  
 This copy is bound together with 18 other items:  
 1. By the Kings Maiestie, were accused w[ith] seven articles of High Treason (Monday. January 3 1641).  
 2. The Last Will and Testament of Doctors Commons.  
 3. The copie of a letter written unto Sir Edward Dering.  
 4. The Copy of a letter of Father Philips, the Queens Confessor.  
 5. A bloody plot, practised by some Papists in Derbyshire.  
 6. A discovery of the great plot for the utter ruine of the City of London and Parliament.  
 7. A Continuation of the True Narration of the most observable Passages in and about Plymouth.  
 8. The Prisoners Report.  
 9. The speech of mr Arthur Knight, of Grays Inne, Gentleman.  
 10. The manner of the beheading of the Duke Hambleton, the Earle of Holland, and the Lord Capell.  
 11. King Charles his Resolution.  
 12. A perfect Narrative of the whole Proceedings of the High Court of Justice in the Tryal of the King.  
 13. The Charge of the Commons of England, against Charles Stuart, King of England.  
 14. A Continuation of the Narrative being the third and fourth days Proceedings. [nr. 2, January 25 1649]. A Continuation of the Narrative being the last and final dayes Proceedings. [nr.3, January 19 1649].



15. The Arraignment of Women.
16. The Boy of Bilson.
17. [Title-page missing] The Nest of Serpents.
18. The Brownists Conventicle.
19. A Learned and witty Conference Lately held betwixt a Protestant and a Papist.<sup>1</sup>
  1. (1) Wing C 2153; (2) L 518; (3) P 4257; (4) P 2039; (5) unidentified; (6) P 4265; (7) C 5973; (8) W 3099; (9) K 685; (10) unidentified; (11) C 2753; (12) W 9; (13) unidentified; (14) unidentified; (15) S 6252; (16) STC 1185; (17) Wing N 470; (18) T 436; (19) L 799.

Copies noted

0.

- Short title      Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 166[7].
- Collation      4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-63[1]. 32 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> Epistle to 'the common sort of Women', signed 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A4<sup>r</sup><sup>v</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Rom. with Ital. and Rom. R-T). B-I4<sup>r</sup> (pp.1-63) Text (Rom.) I4<sup>v</sup> blank.  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> and; A3<sup>r</sup> open; A4<sup>r</sup> be; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; D1<sup>r</sup> -ton; E1<sup>r</sup> hath; F1<sup>r</sup> Ploughes; G1<sup>r</sup> and; H1<sup>r</sup> what; I1<sup>r</sup> what.
- Full title      THE | ARRAIGNMENT | of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Uncon<s>tant | WOMEN: | OR, | The VANITY of them; chu<s>e you whether. | WITH | A Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Vertuous, and Hone<s>t Women. | Plea<s>ant for Married-Men, profitable for Young-Men, and hurtfull to none. | [woodcut] | London, Printed by E. C. for F. Grove, on Snow-hill, near the Sarazens-head, 166[7].
- Copy described      British Library copy C.107.bb.42. Half morocco, gilt-edged. Text 149 x 97. Average leaf 182 x 131. Acquired 15 November 1978 from B. Quaritch.  
                      Sotheby's sold this copy, described as the 1667 edition, 'hf. morocco', to Quaritch on November 13 1978 (lot 260). BAR 76. In July 1965 Sotheby's had also sold a copy described as a 1667 edition, half morocco, (lot 224). BAR 62.
- Copies noted      L.

- Short title      Swetnam, Joseph. The Arraignment of Women. London 1682.
- Collation      4<sup>o</sup>: A-I4 (\$3). 36 leaves. Pp. [8]1-63[1]. 32 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>r</sup> Epistle to 'the common sort of Women' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Rom. with Ital. R-T). A4<sup>v</sup> Epistle to 'the common sort of women', signed 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. R-T). B-I4<sup>r</sup> (pp.1-63) Text (Rom.) I4<sup>v</sup> blank.  
Note: A3<sup>v</sup> and A4<sup>v</sup> are wrongly imposed.  
           A3 unsigned.  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> are; A3<sup>r</sup> the; A4<sup>r</sup> CHAP.; B1<sup>r</sup> -terly; C1<sup>r</sup> Diamond; D1<sup>r</sup> -ton; E1<sup>r</sup> hath; F1<sup>r</sup> Ploughes; G1<sup>r</sup> and; H1<sup>r</sup> what; I1<sup>r</sup> what.
- Full title      THE | ARRAIGNMEN[T] | of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Uncon<s>tant | WOMEN: | OR, | The VAN<.>ITY of them; chu<s>e you whethe[r] | WITH | A Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Vertuous, and Hone<s>t Wome[n] | Plea<s>ant for Married-Men, profitable for Young-Men, and hurtfull to none. | [woodcut] | London, Printed by M. C. for T. Passenger, at the three Bibles | upon London Bridge, 1682.  
Note: line 6 swash 'N'.
- Copy described      Pepys Library copy, Magdalene College PL 1192<sup>23</sup> (microfilm). Vols. 1190-1193 are four volumes of what Pepys called 'Vulgaria', comprising some 51 pamphlets of popular literature produced in the last six decades of the seventeenth century, see N.A. Smith, Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge. vol. 1, Printed Books, Cambridge 1978, p.172, 199.
- Copies noted      c<sup>10</sup>. F.  
                     Folger Shakespeare Library copy 6252.2 Bookplate The Folger Shakespeare Library. This copy was acquired at the Sotheby sale of 27 June 1961 (lot 263). A3<sup>v</sup> and A4<sup>v</sup> of the Folger copy are also wrongly imposed.  
                     Sotheby's sold a copy of the 1682 edition in June 1931 from the Library of the Marquess of Exeter (lot 195). It was described as having the 'title soiled and mounted, 2 lines cut, shaving text, roan, 4to'.

- Short title      Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1702.
- Collation      8<sup>o</sup>: A-G8 (\$4). 56 leaves. Pp. [12]1-112. 26 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A4<sup>v</sup> Epistle to 'the common sort of Women', signed 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Ital. with Rom. and Ital. R-T). A5-A6<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Rom. with Ital. and Rom. R-T). A7-G8<sup>v</sup> (pp.1-112) Text (Rom.)  
Note: G6-G8<sup>v</sup> have been set in smaller type.  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> the; A3<sup>r</sup> yet; A4<sup>r</sup> but; A5<sup>r</sup> Hercules; A6<sup>r</sup> have; A7<sup>r</sup> cured; A8<sup>r</sup> Again; B1<sup>r</sup> After; C1<sup>r</sup> ed; D1<sup>r</sup> World; E1<sup>r</sup> bound; F1<sup>r</sup> Here; G1<sup>r</sup> Counsel.
- Full title      [within a ruled compartment] | THE | #ARRAIGNMENT# | OF  
 | Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Uncon<s>tant | WOMEN: | OR, |  
 The VANITY of them; | (Chu<s>e you whether.) | WITH | A  
 Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Vertu- | ous, and Hone<s>t  
 Women. | [rule] | Plea<s>ant for Married Men, profitable  
 for Young | Men, and hurtful to none. | [double rule]  
 LONDON: | Printed for B. Deacon, at the Angel in Gilt-  
 <s>pur- treet, near Newgate 1702.
- Copy described      British Library copy 722.a.46. Quarter leather. Re-bound 1986. Text 121 x 75. Average leaf 156 x 92. Acquired 13 March 1947 (nr. 894). Bookplate (unidentified) on one of the fly-leaves. A ms. note in an italic hand under line 11 of the title-page: 'by Jos<sup>h</sup> Swetnam'.
- Copies noted      L.  
 SR 30 April 1698:  
**Jonah Deacon**  
**John Wilde**  
 9. Entered then by vertue of the above menc[i]oned [William Thackeray, and the Court of the Stationers' Company] assignment and order for their booke or copy intituled The Arraignment of Women vjd  
 [signed] JONAH DEACON  
 JOHN WILDE  
 (Eyre & Rivington, 111.476-77)

- Short title Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1704.
- Collation 12<sup>o</sup>: A-G12 (\$5). 84 leaves. Pp. [14]17-168. 28 lines.  
 A2<sup>r</sup> title. A2<sup>v</sup> blank. A3-A6<sup>v</sup> Epistle to 'the common sort of Women', signed 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Rom. with Ital. R-T). A7-A8<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A9<sup>r</sup>-F6<sup>r</sup> (pp. 17-124) Text The Arraignment of Women (Rom.). F6<sup>v</sup>-G12<sup>v</sup> (pp. 125-168) Text The Second Part (Rom.)  
Catchwords: A3<sup>r</sup> which; A4<sup>r</sup> manner; A5<sup>r</sup> position; A6<sup>r</sup> little; A7<sup>r</sup> of; A8<sup>r</sup> have; A9<sup>r</sup> Again; A10<sup>r</sup> What; A11<sup>r</sup> World; A12<sup>r</sup> And; B1<sup>r</sup> doth; C1<sup>r</sup> -; D1<sup>r</sup> at; E1<sup>r</sup> -or; F1<sup>r</sup> -gary; G1<sup>r</sup> Witty.
- Full title [within a double ruled compartment] THE | #ARRAIGNMENT#  
 | OF | Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Uncon<s>tant | WOMEN:  
 OR, | The VANITY Of them, | (Chu<s>e you whether.) |  
 WITH | A Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Vertu- | ous, and  
 Hone<s>t Women. | To which is Added, A | SECOND PART: |  
 CONTAINING | Merry Dialogues, Witty Poems, and | Jovial  
 Songs. | [rule] | Plea<s>ant for Married Men, profitable  
 for Young | Men, and hurtful to none. | [double rule]  
 LONDON: | Printed for B. Deacon, at the Angel in |  
 Gilt<s>pur- treet, near Newgate. 1704.  
Note: Title-page cropped.
- Copy described Bodleian Library copy Douce R 277<sup>3</sup>. Quarter leather.  
 Text 120 x 68. Average leaf 133 x 73.  
 Francis Douce's bookplate on inside cover. Bound with  
 two other copies:  
 1. The Reformer exposing the Vices of the Age in several  
 characters. London [n.d.] 4th ed. Printed and sold by  
 J. How and J. Stars.  
 2. The Pleasures of Matrimony, Intermix'd with Variety  
 of Merry and Delightful Stories. London 1695.<sup>1</sup>  
 1. (1) Cf. a later edition, ESTC t 118323; (2) t  
 118247.
- Copies noted 0.  
 A copy of an edition described by Lowndes as the 1704  
 edition was sold in the Nassau sale of 1824 (11.660).  
 Lowndes, vi.2556, describes the edition as '1704,  
 4to. with a front.', but lot 660 is listed in the  
 catalogue under the heading 'Octavo et Infra'. The  
 Bodleian Library copy lacks Al.  
 (Robinson et al., 5127S1)

- Short title      Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1707.
- Collation      12<sup>o</sup>: A2-G12 (\$7). 87 leaves. Pp. [16]17-168. 26 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> blank. A1<sup>v</sup> frontispiece. A2<sup>r</sup> title. A2<sup>v</sup> blank. A3-A3-A6<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to 'the common sort of women', signed 'Yours in the way of Honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Rom. with Ital. R-T). A7-A8<sup>r</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A8<sup>v</sup> book advertisement. A9<sup>r</sup>-F6<sup>r</sup> (pp.17-131) Text The Arraignment of Women (Rom.). F6<sup>v</sup>-G12<sup>v</sup> (pp.132-168) Text The Second Part (Rom.)  
Note: A1<sup>v</sup> frontispiece: three illustrations by Sutton Nicholls. His signature, 'S.N. sculp' in the bottom left hand corner. The imprint reads: 'Printed for B. Deacon at the Angel in Giltspur Street near Newgate'.  
Catchwords: A3<sup>r</sup> which; A4<sup>r</sup> manner; A5<sup>r</sup> position; A6<sup>r</sup> little; A7<sup>r</sup> spark; A8<sup>r</sup> -; Ag<sup>r</sup> Again; A10<sup>r</sup> What; A11<sup>r</sup> World; A12<sup>r</sup> And; B1<sup>r</sup> 'doth C1<sup>r</sup> And; D1<sup>r</sup> at; E1<sup>r</sup> or; F1<sup>r</sup> -gary; G1<sup>r</sup> Witty.
- Full title      [within a double ruled compartment] THE | #ARRAIGNMENT#  
 | OF | Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Uncon<s>tant | WOMEN: |  
 OR, | The VANITY of them; | (Chu<s>e you whether.) |  
 WITH | A Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Vertu- | ous and  
 Hone<s>t Women. | To which is Added, A | SECOND PART : |  
 CONTAINING | Merry Dialogues, Witty Poems, and | Jovial  
 Songs. | [rule] | Plea<s>ant for Married Men, profitable  
 for Young | Men, and hurtful to none. | [double rule]  
 LONDON: | Printed for B. Deacon, at the Angel in |  
 Gilt<s>pur-<s>treet, near Newgate, 1707.
- Copy described      British Library copy 1079.b.10. Half linen. Re-bound by Dunn and Wilson. Text 120 x 168. Average leaf 142 x 79. Acquired 16 January 1845.  
 Bookplate: Thomas Jolley. Signature 'Tho<sup>s</sup> Jolley, 1810' on the fly-leaf. Jolley was a nineteenth-century collector of books whose sales lasted from 1843-1853.
- Copies noted      L.

- Short title      Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London [n.d.]
- Collation      12<sup>o</sup>: A2-G6 (\$5). 78 leaves. Pp. [14]1-138. 29-30 lines. A2<sup>r</sup> title. A2<sup>v</sup> blank. A3-A6<sup>r</sup> The Epistle to 'the common sort of Women', signed 'Yours, in the way of honesty, Joseph Swetnam'. (Rom. with Ital R-T). A6<sup>v</sup> blank. A7-A8<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A9-E7<sup>v</sup> (pp.1-92) Text The Araignment of Women. (Rom. with Ital. and Rom. R-T). E8<sup>r</sup>-G6<sup>v</sup> (pp.93-138) Text The Second Part (Rom. with Ital. and Rom. R-T).
- Note: Copy badly cropped. No catchwords on A9<sup>r</sup>, B2<sup>r</sup>, B5<sup>r</sup>, B7<sup>r</sup>, B8<sup>r</sup>, B12<sup>r</sup>, C2<sup>r</sup>, C6<sup>r</sup>, G6<sup>r</sup>; catchwords only partly visible on B3<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>r</sup>, B9<sup>r</sup>, B9<sup>v</sup>, B10<sup>v</sup>, B11<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>, C2<sup>v</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>, C5<sup>v</sup>, C6<sup>r</sup>, C9<sup>v</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>, D2<sup>v</sup>, D5<sup>v</sup>, G4<sup>r</sup>. Signatures lost or only partly visible: B2, B3, B4, B5, C2, C4, D3, D5, G3. A6 torn.
- Note: B1<sup>r</sup> is numbered '7' instead of '9' (A12<sup>v</sup> is numbered '8'). B1<sup>v</sup> is numbered '8', B2<sup>r</sup> '9', &c. D4<sup>r</sup> is numbered '91' instead of '61'.
- Catchwords: A3<sup>r</sup> I; A4<sup>r</sup> by; A5<sup>r</sup> and; A6<sup>r</sup> -; A7<sup>r</sup> against; A8<sup>r</sup> behind; A9<sup>r</sup> sheweth; A10<sup>r</sup> Again, A11<sup>r</sup> by; A12<sup>r</sup> On; B1<sup>r</sup> but; C1<sup>r</sup> -casion; D1<sup>r</sup> And; E1<sup>r</sup> had; F1<sup>r</sup> His; G1<sup>r</sup> The.
- Full title      [within a double ruled compartment] | THE | ARRAIGNMENT | Of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Uncon<s>tant | WOMEN: | OR, THE | VANITIES of Them; | (Chu<s>e you whether), | With a Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Ver- | tuous, and Hone<s>t WOMEN. | [rule] | To which is added, | A Second PART: | CONTAINING | Merry DIALOGUES, Witty | POEMS, and Jovial SONGS. | [rule] | Plea<s>ant for Married Men, profitable for Young | Men, and hurtful to none. | [rule] | [L]ondon: Printed, by and for Tho. Norris: And Sold by Edw. Midwinter, at the Looking-gla<s> on | Lond[o]n-bridge.
- Note: No date in the imprint. The title-page is damaged and torn in the bottom left corner.
- Copy described      British Library copy 8415.b.10. Contemporary plain white vellum, blind ruled. Text 123 x 71. Average leaf 136 x 85. Acquired 13 March 1947 (nr. 895).
- Copies noted      L.Y.
- Beinecke Library, Yale, copy Ih.Sw.46.690A. Acquired in 1924, ex libris Yale University Library 1924 (from the Elizabeth Wheeler Mainwaring Fund). Bookplate: Fairfax of Cameron. This copy also contains ms. notes by a former owner, W.F. Prideaux. It is described in BAR 14, p.265 as the 1645 London Bridge edition, a mistake corrected by Prideaux: 'This book was originally published in 1615, and went through several editions.

The date 1645 on the title-page, written by a previous owner, is an error. This little book seems to be a reprint of an edition of 1704 in quarto. It is not mentioned by Hazlitt, and it is undoubtedly scarce'.



Short title Swetnam, Joseph. The Arraignment of Women. London 1733.

Collation 12<sup>0</sup>: A [-A11, A12], B-[-B6]B12, C-G2 (S5). 71 leaves. Pp. [11] 1-132. 30 lines.

A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A4<sup>v</sup> the Epistle to 'the common sort of women', signed 'Yours, in the way of honesty, Joseph Swetnam' (Rom. with Ital. and Rom. R-T). A5-A6<sup>r</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', unsigned (Ital. with Rom. R-T). A6<sup>v</sup>-F5<sup>v</sup> (pp.1-91) Text The Arraignment of Women (Rom. with Ital. and Rom. R-T). E6<sup>r</sup>-G2<sup>v</sup> (pp.92-132) Text The Second Part (Rom. with Rom. and Ital. R-T).

Note: B6 (pp.19-20) missing.

B1<sup>r</sup> is misprinted 'p.9', should be '10'. B1<sup>v</sup> is printed 'p.10'. B2<sup>r</sup>-G2<sup>v</sup> numbered pp.11-132.

Catchwords: A3<sup>r</sup> make; A4<sup>r</sup> Water; A5<sup>r</sup> so; A8<sup>r</sup> before; A9<sup>r</sup> -; A10<sup>r</sup> Harrie; A11<sup>r</sup> -; A12<sup>r</sup> -; B1<sup>r</sup> -; C1<sup>r</sup> -ning; D1<sup>r</sup> con-; E1<sup>r</sup> -; F1<sup>r</sup> Stark; G1<sup>r</sup> But.

Full title THE | ARRAIGNMENT | Of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Uncon<s>tant | WOMEN: | OR, THE | VANITIES of Them; | (Chu<s>e whether) | With a Commendation of the Wi<s>e, Ver- | tuous, and Hone<s>t WOMEN. | [rule] | To which is added, | A Second PART: | CONTAINING | Merry DIALOGUES, Witty | POEMS, and Jovial SONGS. | [rule] | Plea<s>ant for Married Men, profitable for Young | Men, and hurtful to none. | [rule] | LONDON. | Printed for A. BETTESWORTH, and C. HITCH | at the Red-Lyon, and J. OSBURN, at the Golden | Ball in Paterno<s>ter-Row, S. BRIT in Avenary- | Lane, and J. HODGES on London Bridge 1733.

Note: 'Osburn' and 'Brit' are misprints for 'Osborne' and 'Birt'.

Copy described British Library copy 12354.a.36. Calf. Text 124 x 69. Average leaf 139 x 80. Acquired 10 December 1862.

Signature on A1<sup>v</sup> 'John Harley his Booke, August 30<sup>th</sup> 1777'.

Copies noted L. O(2)

Bodleian Library copy Douce S.33. Quarter leather. Francis Douce bookplate.

Bodleian Library copy Douce S.366. Calf, blind ruled, spine repaired. Francis Douce bookplate.

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Short title    | Swetnam, Joseph. The Araignment of Women. London 1807.   |
| Collation      | <p>4<sup>o</sup>: *, A-I4. (\$3). 37 leaves. Pp. [10]1-64. 31 lines.<br/>           *<sup>r</sup> blank. *<sup>v</sup> Advertisement. A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> Imprint. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to 'the common sort of women', signed 'Thomas Tel-troth' (Rom. with Ital. R-T). A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup> The Epistle to the 'ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men', signed 'Thy friend nameles, To keepe my selfe blameles' (Rom. with Ital. R-T). A4<sup>v</sup> blank. B-I4<sup>v</sup> (pp.1-64) Text (Rom.).</p> <p><u>Catchwords</u>: A2<sup>r</sup> for; A3<sup>r</sup> little; B1<sup>r</sup> bitterly; C1<sup>r</sup> credit; D1<sup>r</sup> There; E1<sup>r</sup> keepes; F1<sup>r</sup> BE; G1<sup>r</sup> I was; H1<sup>r</sup> good; I1<sup>r</sup> feele.</p> |
| Full title     | <p>THE   ARAIGNMENT   Of Lewde, idle, froward, and vncon-  <br/>           stant women: Or the vanitie of them,   choo&lt;s&gt;e you<br/>           whether.   With a Commendacion of wise, vertuous and  <br/>           hone&lt;s&gt;t Women.   Pleasant for married Men, profitable<br/>           for   young Men, and hurtfull   to none.   [woodcut]  <br/> <u>LONDON</u>   Printed by Edw: Allde for Thomas Archer, and<br/>           are to be &lt;s&gt;olde at his &lt;s&gt;hop   in Popes-head Pallace<br/>           nere the Royall Exchange.   1615.</p>   |
| Copy described | <p>British Library Copy 1093.C.14 (1). Red linen, re-bound<br/>           1980. Text 143 x 98. Average leaf 200 x 152.<br/>           Bookplate by H.S. Ashbee.</p>  |
| Copies noted   | <p>L.<br/>           (Joliffe et al., T 454.)</p>  |

Short title Swetnam, Joseph. Recht-banck. Leyden 1641. (B.L.)

Collation 4<sup>o</sup>: [A2] A3-4. (aa)4. B-H3. (\$3). (aaa)1. 36 leaves. Pp. [16]1-53[3]. 41 lines.  
[A1]<sup>r</sup> half title. [A1]<sup>v</sup> poem. [A2]<sup>r</sup> full title. [A2]<sup>v</sup> blank. A3-(aa)2<sup>r</sup> Epistle 'Aen 't ghemeen Gheslacht der Vrouwen', signed 'Joseph Swetnam' (B.L. with Rom. R-T). (aa)2<sup>v</sup>-(aa)3<sup>v</sup> Epistle to the 'Jongelingen', unsigned (B.L. with Rom. R-T). (aa)4 commendatory poem, signed 'I. Burchhoorn' (Rom.). B-H3<sup>r</sup> (pp.1-53) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T). H3<sup>v</sup> blank. (aaa)1 commendatory poems, signed 'H.I.D.', 'P.v.H.', 'I.B.B.B.' (Ital. B.L. Rom.).  
Catchwords: A3<sup>r</sup> ren; A4<sup>r</sup> tans; (aa)1<sup>r</sup> mach; B1<sup>r</sup> weder-; C1<sup>r</sup> 'teene; D1<sup>r</sup> ligher; E1<sup>r</sup> als; F1<sup>r</sup> Vrouwe; G1<sup>r</sup> Maer; H1<sup>r</sup> daer.

Half title #Recht=Banck/# | TEGEN | De Luye, Korzelighe, en Wi<s>pel- | tuyrighe VROUVEN: | MET | #De over-groote ongheregeltheden / ende | ydele god'loo<s>heden der selver / etc.# | [woodcut] | ANNO 1641. | #Gedruckt / ende men vint<s>e te koop by# Willem Chri<s>tiaens, | #Boeckdrucker tot# | LEYDEN, #woonende by de Academie/# | in de Meutjen-<s>teegh.  
Note: line 4 Two separate V's.

Full title RECHT-BANCK | TEGEN[.] | #De luye | korzelighe / en wi<s>peltuyrighe# | VROUVEN, | MET | #De over-groote ongeregeltheden / en ydele god= | loo<s>heden der selver/# | Geeft Vonnis | #Over het loff van Zedighe / Deught<s>ame/ | ende Godtvree<s>ende Vrouwen.# | Hier is by ghevoecht | DE BEEREN-JACHT, | OFTE | #De onghestadigheden der Weduwen.# | ALLES | #Geneuchlijck voor getroude Mannen: profijtlijck voor jonghe | Ge<s>ellen / ende tot niemandts <s>chade off nadeel.# | Om de Hi<s>tori<s>che vertellingen, ende kort<s>wijlicheyts wille, | uyt het Engel<s>e gedruckte Exemplaer van dien Clucht-hoofdigen | Poët M<sup>r</sup>. JOSEPH SVVETNAM, nu eer<s>t vertaelt | in on<s>e Nederduyt<s>e Spraeck. | [ornament] | ANNO 1641.  
Note: line 2 tailed 'N'  
line 20 two separate V's for 'W'

Running title B1<sup>v</sup>-G4<sup>v</sup> REGHT-BANCK, tegen de | wi<s>peltuyrighedt der VROUVEN.  
H1<sup>r</sup>-H3<sup>r</sup> DE BEEREN-JACHT, ofte | De ongeh<s>tadicheden der WEDUWEN.

Copy described Leyden University Library Bibl. Thysiana 2254(24). Marbled paper boards with vellum spine. Text 146 x 100. Average leaf 186 x 135.

Copies noted UBL. L.  
  
British Library copy 8415 df 1. Marbled paper covers. Autograph 'Frederic Verachter' on A1<sup>r</sup>.

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Short title   | Swetnam, Joseph. Recht-banck. Leyden 1649. (B.L.)  |
| Collation     | 4 <sup>o</sup> : *4. B-G4. A. A-D4. (§3). 48 leaves. Pp. [8]1-47[2]3-8[4]5-32. 43 lines.<br>(*1) <sup>r</sup> title. (*1) <sup>v</sup> blank. (*2)-(*3) <sup>v</sup> Epistle 'Aen 't gemeen Geslacht der Vrouwen', signed 'Joseph Swetnam' (B.L. with Rom. R-T). (*3) <sup>v</sup> -(*) <sup>v</sup> 'Dagh-vaerding Aen alle korselighe en wispeltuyrige Manne-quelsters', signed 'I. Burchoorn' (Rom.). 'Klick-dicht' [sic] and 'Tegen-Dicht', signed 'W.B. 1649' (Ital. and Rom.). B1 <sup>r</sup> -G2 <sup>r</sup> (pp. 1-43) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T). G2 <sup>r</sup> -G4 <sup>r</sup> 'Byvoechsels' (B.L. with Rom. R-T) and 'Den Oversetter aen het Vrouwen-volck' (Ital.). G4 <sup>v</sup> blank.<br>A1 <sup>r</sup> title. A1 <sup>v</sup> 'Der Vrouwen Ambacht', 'Klink-Dicht', signed 'W.V.B.C.' (Rom. and Ital.). A2 <sup>r</sup> -A4 <sup>v</sup> (pp. 3-8) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T).<br>A1 <sup>r</sup> title. A1 <sup>v</sup> blank. A2 <sup>r</sup> <sup>v</sup> Epistle to the 'Jongelingen', signed 'Joseph Swetnam' (B.L.) A2 <sup>v</sup> 'Aen Willem Christiaens', signed 'M. Mat.' (Rom.). A3 <sup>r</sup> -D4 <sup>v</sup> (pp.5-32) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T). D4 <sup>v</sup> Advertisement: 'Ick ben oock van meninghe U.L. mede te deelen ù Het Parlement der Vrouwen' (B.L./Rom.). |
| Full title    | <b>**RECHT-BANCK**   #Eer&lt;s&gt;te Deel.#   **TEGHEN DE**   #Ydele/ Korzelighe/ en Wi&lt;s&gt;peltuyrige/   **VROUWEN.**</b><br><b>  #Gheeft oock Vonnis#   **Over den Loff van alle Deught&lt;s&gt;ame ende Godtvree&lt;s&gt;ende Vrouwen[.]**</b><br><b>  #Eer&lt;s&gt;t in 't Engels be&lt;s&gt;chreven door#   **JOSEPH SWETNAM,**</b><br><b>  Edelman[.].   #De&lt;s&gt;en derden Druck is verhandelt in drye be&lt;s&gt;ondere Deelen.   Oock veel verbeterd: ende het laet&lt;s&gt;te Deel is noyt voor   de&lt;s&gt;en in 't Nederduyts gedrukt.#   [woodcut in red]   #Gedrukt en uytgegeven tot# Leyden. #by# Willem Chri&lt;s&gt;tiaens.</b><br><u>Note:</u> The title-page is badly cropped, shaving imprint.<br>Line 7 tailed 'N' in 'Vrouwen'<br>Line 9 tailed 'N' in 'Edelman'.   |
| Running title | B1 <sup>v</sup> -G2 <sup>r</sup> RECHT-BANCK, teghen[.]   de kor<s>elighe ende wispeltuyrige Vrouwen[.]<br>G2 <sup>v</sup> -G4 <sup>r</sup> BYVOECHSEL   |
| Full title    | BEEREN-JACHT,   #Het tweede Deel van de#   RECHT-BANCK   OVER DE   #Onge<s>tadicheyt ende Onghebondenheyt#   DER WEDUWEN.   #Tot Waer<s>chouwinge van alle Mans Per<s>oonen.#   Be<s>chreven in 't Engels door den Welge<s>tudeerden Poët.>   JOSEPH SWETNAM, Edelman[.]   [woodcut]   #Gedrukt tot# LEYDEN, #by# Willem Chri<s>tiaens. 1649.<br><u>Note:</u> Line 8 swash 't' in 'Poët'.<br>Line 9 tailed 'n' in 'Edelman'.   |
| Running title | A2 <sup>v</sup> -A4 <sup>v</sup> DER WEDUWEN   BEEREN-JACHT<br>A4 <sup>v</sup> DER WEDUWEN, &c.  |

Full title        RECHT-BANCK | TEGEN DE | #Regier<s>uchtighe Vrouwen.# |  
                   Seer aerdich ende kort<s>wijlich be<s>chreven | door den  
                   kluchtigen Poët[.] | JOSEPH SWETNAM, Edelman[.] | #Het  
                   derde Deel.# | Vertaelt uyt het Engels. | [woodcut] |  
                   TOT LEYDEN, | #Gedruckt by# Willem Chri<s>tiaens vander  
                   Boxe[.]. | #In 't Jaer# 1649.  
                   Note: Line 5 swash 't' in 'Poët'.  
                               Line 6 tailed 'n' in 'Edelman'.  
                               Line 10 tailed 'e' in 'Boxe'.

Running title    A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup> RECHT-BANCK, teghen[.] | de Regier<s>uchtighe  
                               Vrouwen[.]  
                   A4<sup>v</sup>        RECHT-BANCK, teghen, &c.  
                   Note: tailed 'n' in 'teghen' en 'Vrouwen'.

Copy described    Royal Library (KB) 503 E 69. Marbled paper covers. Text  
                               159 x 110. Average Leaf 179 x 35.

Copies noted     KB.

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Short title   | Swetnam, Joseph. Recht-banck. Amsterdam 1662. (B.L.)   |
| Collation     | <p>4<sup>o</sup>: (+). B-G4. A. A-D4. (\$3). 48 leaves. Pp.[8]1-48[2]3-8[4]5-32. 45 lines.</p> <p>(+1)<sup>r</sup> title. (+1)<sup>v</sup> blank. (+2)<sup>r</sup>-(+3)<sup>v</sup> Epistle 'Aen 't ghemeen Gheslacht der Vrouwen', signed 'Joseph Swetnam' (B.L. with Rom. R-T). (+3)<sup>v</sup>-(+4)<sup>v</sup> 'Dach-vaerding, Aen alle korselige en wispeltuyrige Mannequelsters', signed 'I. Burchoorn.' (Rom.). (+4)<sup>v</sup> 'Klinck-dicht' and 'Tegendicht', signed 'W.B. 1649.' (Ital. and Rom.). B2<sup>r</sup>-G2<sup>r</sup> (pp. 1-43) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T). G2<sup>r</sup>-G4<sup>r</sup> 'Bijvoeghsels' (B.L. with Rom. R-T) and 'Den Oversetter aen het Vrouwen-volck' (Ital.). G4<sup>v</sup> blank.</p> <p><u>Catchwords</u>: (+2)<sup>r</sup> willen; (3+)<sup>r</sup> kunt; (+4)<sup>r</sup> wel; B1<sup>r</sup> ende; C1<sup>r</sup> ten; D1<sup>r</sup> vol=; E1<sup>r</sup> ofte; F1<sup>r</sup> te; G1<sup>r</sup> alle.</p> <p>A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> 'Der Vrouwen Ambacht' (Rom.); 'Klinck-dicht', signed 'W.V.B.C.' (Ital.). A2<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup> (pp. 3-8) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T).</p> <p><u>Catchwords</u>: A2<sup>r</sup> gheheel; A3<sup>r</sup> haer; A4<sup>r</sup> ghen?</p> <p>A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2<sup>rv</sup> Epistle to the 'Jongelingen', signed 'Joseph Swetnam' (B.L.). A2<sup>v</sup> 'Aen Willem Christiaens', signed 'M. Mat.' (Rom.). A3<sup>r</sup>-D4<sup>v</sup> (pp. 5-32) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T).</p> <p><u>Catchwords</u>: A2<sup>r</sup> Als; A3<sup>r</sup> IO-; A4<sup>r</sup> uyt; B1<sup>r</sup> IOSEPH; C1<sup>r</sup> Soo; D1<sup>r</sup> IO-.</p> |
| Full title    | RECHT-BANCK   #Het eer<s>te Deel.#   TEGEN DE   #Ydele /<br>Korzelighe / ende Wi<s>peltuyrige#   VROUWEN.   #Geeft<br>oock Vonnis#   Over den Loff van alle Deugt<s>ame en<br>Godvree<s>ende Vrouwen.   #Eer<s>t in 't Engels<br>be<s>chreven door#   JOSEPH SWETNAM, Edelman.  <br>[woodcut]   t'AMSTERDAM,   [rule]   #Gedrukt by# JAN<br>J. BOUMAN, #Boeckverkooper / woont op 't Water / tegen<br>over de   Koorn-Marckt / in de Lelye onder de Doornen /#<br>1662.  |
| Running title | B1 <sup>v</sup> -G2 <sup>r</sup> RECHT-BANCK, tegen de kor<s>elige en<br>wi<s>peltuyrige Vrouwen.<br>G2 <sup>v</sup> -G4 <sup>r</sup> BY-VOEGHSEL  |
| Full title    | BEEREN-JACHT,   #Het Tweede Deel van de#   RECHT-BANCK.<br>  #Over d'Onge<s>tadigheyt en Ongebonden=   heydt der#<br>WEDUWEN.   Tot waer<s>chouwinge van alle Mans-<br>per<s>onen. Be<s>chre-   ven in 't Engels, door den wel-<br>ge<s>tudeerden Poët Io<s>eph   Svvetnam, Edelman.  <br>[woodcut]   t'AMSTERDAM,   [rule]   #Gedrukt by# JAN J.<br>BOUMAN, #Boeckverkooper/ woont op 't Water/ tegen over<br>de   Koorn-Marckt/ in de Lelye onder de Doornen /# 1662.<br><u>Note</u> : Line 8 two separate V's for 'w'.  |
| Running title | A2 <sup>v</sup> -A4 <sup>v</sup> DER WEDUWEN   BEEREN-JACHT.<br>A4 <sup>v</sup> DER WEDUWEN, &c.   |

Full title        RECHT-BANCK | TEGEN DE | #Regier<s>uchtighe Vrouwen.# |  
                  Seer aerdigh en kort<s>wijligh be<s>chreven | door den  
                  kluchtigen Poët Io<s>eph Swetnam, Edelman. | #Het Derde  
                  Deel.# | Vertaelt uyt 't Engels in 't Neerduyts. |  
                  [woodcut] | t'AMSTERDAM, | [rule] | #Gedruckt by# JAN J.  
                  BOUMAN, #Boeckverkooper/ woont op 't Water/ tegen over  
                  de | Koorn-Marckt/ in de Lelye onder de Doornen/ # 1662.

Running title    A3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>v</sup> RECHT-BANCK, teghen de Regier<s>uchtighe  
                  Vrouwen.

Copy described    Royal Library (KB) 28 L 24. Half vellum, marbled paper  
                  boards. Text 153 x 101. Average leaf 190 x 141. Ex  
                  libris F.G. Waller, Amsterdam 1893.

Copies noted      KB. UBA

                 UBA        University Library Amsterdam Brach 576-2,  
                  marbled paper covers.

- Short title Swetnam, Joseph. Recht-banck. Amsterdam 1670. B.L.
- Collation 4<sup>o</sup>: A-G1 [A2] G3-4. A-D. (\$3). 48 leaves. Pp. [8]1-47[1][2]3-8[4]5-32. 43 lines.  
 A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> Epistle 'Aen 't gemeen Gheslacht der Vrouwen', signed 'Joseph Swetnam' (B.L. with Rom. R-T). A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup> 'Dagh-vaerdingh', signed 'J.[sic] Burchoorn' (Rom.). A4<sup>v</sup> 'Klinck-dicht', 'Tegen-dicht', signed 'W.B. 1649', (Ital. & Rom.). B-[A]2<sup>r</sup> (pp. 1-43) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T). [A]2<sup>v</sup>-G4<sup>r</sup> 'Bijvoeghsels' (B.L. with Rom. R-T) and 'Den Oversetter aen het Vrouwen-volck' (Ital). G4<sup>v</sup> blank.  
Note: G2 is misprinted A2.  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> de werelt; A3<sup>r</sup> had; A4<sup>r</sup> Ick; B1<sup>r</sup> weder; C1<sup>r</sup> haer; D1<sup>r</sup> Het; E1<sup>r</sup> krijgen; F1<sup>r</sup> Jonck; G1<sup>r</sup> wat.
- A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> 'Der Vrouwen Ambacht', 'Klinck-dicht', signed 'W.V.B.C.' (Rom. & Ital). A2-A4<sup>v</sup> (pp. 3-8) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T).  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> greep/; A3<sup>r</sup> niet; A4<sup>r</sup> in het.
- A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2 Epistle to the 'Jongelingen', signed 'Joseph Swetnam' (B.L.). A2<sup>v</sup> 'Aen Willem Christiaens', signed 'M. Mat.' (Rom.). A3-D4<sup>v</sup> (pp. 5-32) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T).  
Catchwords: A2<sup>r</sup> Als; A3<sup>r</sup> IO-; A4<sup>r</sup> Uyt; B1<sup>r</sup> gegeven; C1<sup>r</sup> Die; D1<sup>r</sup> IO=.
- Full title RECHT-BANCK, | #Het Eer<s>te Deel.# | TEGEN DE | #Ydele/ Korzelighe / ende Wi<s>peltuyrige# | VROUWEN. | #Geeft oock Vonnis# | Over den Lof van alle Deugt<s>ame en Godvree<s>ende Vrouwen. | #Eer<s>t in 't Engels be<s>chreven door# | JOSEPH SWETNAM, Edelman. | [woodcut] | t'AMSTERDAM, | #By# MICHEL de GROOT, #Boeck-verkooper/ woonende op de Nieuwen- | dijck/ tu<ss>chen de twee Haerlemmer-<s>luy<s>en/ in de groote Bybel# / 1670.
- Running title B1<sup>r</sup>-G2<sup>r</sup> RECHT-BANCK, tegen de korselige en wispeltuyrige Vrouwen  
 G3<sup>r</sup>-G4<sup>r</sup> BY-VOECHSEL
- Full title BEEREN-IACHT | #Het Tweede Deel van de# | RECHT-BANCK. | #Over d'Onghe<s>tadigheydt en Onghebondenheydt der# | VVEDUWEN. | Tot waer<s>chouwinge van alle Mans-per<s>oonen. Be<s>chre- | ven in 't Enghels, door den wel-ghe<s>tudeerden Poët | JOSEPH SWETNAM, Edelman. | [woodcut] | t'AMSTERDAM, | #By# MICHEL de GROOT, #Boeck-verkooper/ woonende op de Nieuwen- | dijck/ tu<ss>chen de twee Haerlemmer-<s>luy<s>en/ in de groote Bybel# / 1670.  
Note: Line 5 Two separate V's for intitial 'W' in 'Weduwen'
- Running title A2<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup> DER WEDUWEN | BEEREN-JACHT



|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Full title     | RECHT-BANCK   <u>Teghen de</u>   #Regier<s>uchtighe Vrouwen.#  <br>Seer aerdigh en kort<s>vvijligh be<s>chreven   door den<br>kluchtighen Poët   JOSEPH SWETNAM, Edelman.   #Het Derde<br>Deel.#   Vertaelt uyt 't Engels in 't Neerduyts.  <br>[woodcut]   t'AMSTERDAM,   #BY# MICHIEL de GROOT,<br>#Boeck-verkooper / woonende op de Nieuwen-   dijck/<br>tu<ss>chen de twee Haerlemmer <s>luy<s>en / in de groote<br>Bybel# /1670.<br><u>Note:</u> Line 4 Two separate V's for medial 'W' in<br>'kortswijligh'. |
| Running title  | A3 <sup>v</sup> -D4 <sup>v</sup> RECHT-BANCK, tegen   de Regier<s>uchtighe<br>Vrouwen.   |
| Copy described | University Library Leyden (UBL) 1211 A12 (1-3). Calf,<br>gold tooled on spine. Text 149 x 104. Average leaf 181 x<br>137.  |
| Copies noted   | UBL 1211 A12 (1-3); 421 F39 & Bibl. Thysiana 2255.   |

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Short title   | Swetnam, Joseph. Recht-banck. Utrecht 1687. B.L.  |
| Collation     | 40: A-M4. (\$3). 48 leaves. Pp. [8]9-40[4][2]47-50[4]55-76[2]79-95[1]. 26 lines.<br>A1 <sup>r</sup> title. A1 <sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3 <sup>v</sup> Epistle 'Aen 't ghemeen Geslacht der Vrouwen' (B.L. with Rom. R-T), signed 'Joseph Zwetnam' [sic]. A3 <sup>v</sup> -A4 <sup>v</sup> 'Daghvaerding' (Rom.), signed 'I. Burchoorn'. 'Klinck-dicht', 'Tegen-gift' (Rom.), signed 'W.B. 1649'. B1-E4 <sup>v</sup> (pp. 9-40) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T). F1-F2 <sup>v</sup> 'Bij-voeghsels' and 'Den Oversetter aen het Vrouwen-volck' (Rom.). F3 <sup>r</sup> title. F3 <sup>v</sup> poems, the last one signed 'W.V.B.C.' (Rom. and Ital.). F4 <sup>r</sup> -G1 <sup>v</sup> (pp. 47-50) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T). G2 <sup>r</sup> title. G2 <sup>v</sup> blank. G3 Epistle to the 'Jongelingen', signed 'Joseph Zwetnam' (B.L. with Rom. R-T). G4-K2 <sup>v</sup> (pp.55-76) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T). K2 <sup>v</sup> Toegift (B.L.), unsigned. K3 <sup>r</sup> title. K3 <sup>v</sup> blank. K4 <sup>r</sup> -M4 <sup>r</sup> (pp.79-95) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T). M4 <sup>v</sup> blank. |
| Full title    | RECHT-BANCK,   #Tegen de Ydele / kor<s>elige / ende Wi<s>pelturige Vrouwen.#   Wraeck-<s>ucht der Weduwen:   #Midsgaders der Regeers<s>uchtige Vrouwen.   Geeft oock vonnis# / Over den Lof van alle Deughd<s>ame en Godtvree<s>ende Vrouwen.   <u>Seer aerdigh en kort&lt;s&gt;wijligh, in 't Engels, Be&lt;s&gt;chreven,</u>   (In drie be<s>ondere Deelen.)   DOOR   JOSEPH ZWETNAM, <u>Edelman.</u>   Oock is hier achter by gevoeght, een t'Samen praeck, of de   Vrouwen Men<s>chen zijn, of niet, tu<ss>chen twee Gee<s>telicke Per<s>onen.   [woodcut]   #Tot# Utrecht, #Gedruckt by# J. van Pool<s>um, #wonende recht over 't Stadthuys.# Anno 1687.   |
| Running title | B1 <sup>v</sup> -E4 <sup>v</sup> Recht-banck, tegen de korselige en wispelturige Vrouwen  |
| Full title    | BEEREN-JACHT,   <u>Aen-wij&lt;s&gt;ende d'Onge&lt;s&gt;tadigheyd en Ongebondenheyd</u>   #Der#   WEDUWEN.   #Tot waer<s>chouwinge van alle Mans-Per<s>onen.#   In 't Engels Be<s>chreven, door den wel-Ge<s>tudeerden Poëet,   JOSEPH ZWETNAM, <u>Edelman.</u>   Zijnde het TWEDE DEEL, van de   RECHT-BANCK.   [woodcut]   Tot UTRECHT, Gedruckt in 't Jaer 1687.  |
| Running title | F4 <sup>r</sup> -G1 <sup>v</sup> Beeren-Jacht der Weduwen   |
| Full title    | RECHT-BANCK,   Tegen de   #Regeer<s>uchtige Vrouwen/ # Seer aerdigh, ende kort<s>wijligh, Be<s>chreven,   (In 't Engel<s>ch)   Door den Kluchtigen Poëet,   JOSEPH ZWETNAM, <u>Edelman.</u>   #Ende nu in 't Neder-duyts Vertaelt.#   HET DERDE DEEL.   [woodcut]   Tot UTRECHT, Gedruckt in 't Jaer 1687.  |
| Running title | G4 <sup>r</sup> -K2 <sup>v</sup> Recht-banck, tegen de Regeer<s>uchtige Vrouwen   |
| Full title    | Di<s>cours ofte t'Samen-<s>praeck,   #Of de#   VROUWEN   <u>Men&lt;s&gt;chen zijn of Niet:</u>   Tu<ss>chen twee Per<s>oonen,   |

den eenen Genaemt | BROEDER ANDRIES, | Der Wijven  
Vyandt: | #Den anderen geheeten# | PATER EUGENIUS, |  
Toe-genaemt der Wijven Vriendt. | #Waer toe yder zijn  
krachtigh<s>te bewij<s>en in-brenght / om | malkanderen/  
met Redenen/ te over-tuygen.# | [woodcut] | Tot UTRECHT,  
Gedruckt in 't jaer 1687.

Running title K4<sup>r</sup>-M4<sup>r</sup> Discours, ofte t'Samen-Spraeck of de Vrouwen  
Menschen zijn of niet.

Copy described Folger Shakespeare Library 214494. Quarter leather, paper boards. Text 159 x 134. Average leaf 161 x 207.

Copies noted F.

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Short title    | Swetnam, Joseph. Recht-banck. Amsterdam [n.d.]. B.L.  |
| Collation      | 4 <sup>o</sup> : A-K2. (\$3). 38 leaves. Pp. [2]3-40[2]43-48[4]53-75. 43 lines.<br>A1 <sup>r</sup> title. A1 <sup>v</sup> blank. A2 <sup>r</sup> half title. A2 <sup>r</sup> -E4 <sup>v</sup> (pp. 3-40) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T).<br>F1 <sup>r</sup> title. F1 <sup>v</sup> blank. F2 <sup>r</sup> -F4 <sup>v</sup> (pp. 43-48) Text (B.L. with Rom. R-T).<br>G1 <sup>r</sup> title. G1 <sup>v</sup> blank. G2 <sup>r</sup> v Epistle to the 'Jongelingen', signed 'Joseph Swetnam' (B.L. with Rom. R-T). G3 <sup>r</sup> -K2 <sup>r</sup> (pp.53-75) Text (B.L. with Rom. T-T). K2 <sup>v</sup> blank.<br><u>Catchwords</u> : A2 <sup>r</sup> huys; A3 <sup>r</sup> fel; A4 <sup>r</sup> sen; B1 <sup>r</sup> dat; C1 <sup>r</sup> lange; D1 <sup>r</sup> ander; E1 <sup>r</sup> ge-; F2 <sup>r</sup> nen; G2 <sup>r</sup> Als; H1 <sup>r</sup> SOC-; I1 <sup>r</sup> Sy; K1 <sup>r</sup> van.<br><u>Note</u> : K2 unsigned. |
| Full title     | RECHT-BANCK,   TEGEN DE   #Ydele / Kor<s>elighe / ende Wi<s>peltuyrighe#   VROUWEN:   #Geeft oock Vonnis#   Over den Lof van alle Deugt<s>ame en Godvree<s>ende Vrouwen.   # Eer<s>t in 't Engels be<s>chreven door#   JOSEPH SWETNAM, Edelman.   #In Drie Deelen.#   [woodcut]   Tot AMSTERDAM,   [rule]   #By# ISAAK vander PUTTE, #Boekverkoper op 't Water / in de Loots-man.#  |
| Running title  | A2 <sup>v</sup> -E4 <sup>r</sup> RECHT-BANCK, tegen   de Kor<s>elige en wi<s>peltuorige Vrouwen.  |
| Full title     | BEEREN-JACHT,   #Ofte#   RECHT-BANCK.   #Over d'Onghe<s>tadigheydt en Ongebondenheydt der#   WEEDUWEN.   Tot waer<s>chouwinge van alle Mans-per<s>oonen. Be<s>chre-   ven in 't Engels, door   JOSEPH SWETNAM, Edelman.   #Tweede Deel.#   [woodcut]   t'AMSTERDAM.   #By# ISAAK vander PUTTE, #Boekverkoper op 't Water/   in de Loots-man.#   |
| Running title  | F2 <sup>v</sup> -F4 <sup>v</sup> DER WEDUWEN BEEREN-JACHT.<br>F4 <sup>v</sup> DER WEDUWEN, &c.  |
| Full title     | RECHT-BANCK.   Tegen de   REGEERSUCHTIGE   VROUWEN.   Seer aerdigh en kort<s>wijligh be<s>chreven   door den kluchtigen Poeët   JOSEPH SWETNAM, Edelman.   #Het Derde Deel#   [woodcut]   t'AMSTERDAM.   #BY# ISAAK vander PUTTE, #Boekverkoper op 't Water   in de Loots-man#  |
| Running title  | G3 <sup>v</sup> -K2 <sup>r</sup> RECHT-BANCK, tegen de Regeer<s>uchtige Vrouwen.  |
| Copy described | Royal Library (KB) 28 L 25. Half vellum, paper boards. Text 147 x 104. Average leaf 184 x 135. Bookplate F.G. Waller 1933.  |
| Copies noted   | KB. L.<br><br>British Library copy 8415 e 1.  |

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Short title   | Swetnam, Joseph. Recht-banck. Amsterdam 1730   |
| Collation     | <p>4<sup>o</sup>: A-M<sup>4</sup>. (\$3). 48 leaves. Pp. [8] 9-40 [41-46] 47-50[4] 55-76 [2] 79-95 [1].</p> <p>A1<sup>r</sup> title. A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2-A3<sup>v</sup> Epistle 'Aen 't gemeen Geslacht der Vrouwen', signed 'Joseph Zwetnam' (Rom. with Rom. R-T). A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup> 'Daghvaerdingh', signed 'J. [sic] Burchoorn' (Rom.). A4<sup>v</sup> 'Klinck-dicht', 'Tegen-dicht', signed 'W.B. 1649' (Ital. &amp; Rom.). B1-E4<sup>v</sup> (pp. 9-40) Text (Rom. with Rom. R-T). F1<sup>r</sup>-F2<sup>v</sup> 'Bijvoeghsels', 'Den Oversetter aen het Vrouwen-volck' (Rom. with Rom. R-T). F3<sup>r</sup> title. F3<sup>v</sup> 'Der Vrouwen Ambacht', (Rom.). 'Klink-dicht', signed 'W.v.B.C.' (Ital.). F4<sup>r</sup>-G1<sup>v</sup> (pp. 47-50) Text (Rom. with Rom. R-T). G2<sup>r</sup> title. G2<sup>v</sup> blank. G3 Epistle to the 'Jongelingen', signed 'Joseph Zwetnam' (Rom.). G3<sup>v</sup> Poem 'Aen Willem Christiaens', signed 'M. Mat.'. (Rom.). G4<sup>r</sup>-K2<sup>v</sup> (pp. 55-76) Text (Rom. with Rom. R-T). K2<sup>v</sup> Toe-gift. K3<sup>r</sup> title. K3<sup>v</sup> blank. K4<sup>r</sup>-M4<sup>r</sup> (pp. 79-95) Text (Rom. with Rom. R-T). M4<sup>v</sup> blank.</p> <p><u>Catchwords</u>: A2<sup>r</sup> weynige; A3<sup>r</sup> begon; A4<sup>r</sup> Kom.; B1<sup>r</sup> onder; C1<sup>r</sup> hou-; D1<sup>r</sup> Som-; E1<sup>r</sup> Sou; F1<sup>r</sup> ende; G1<sup>r</sup> waer-; H1<sup>r</sup> <u>SOC.</u>; I1<sup>r</sup> Ick; K1<sup>r</sup> ende; L1<sup>r</sup> maer; M1<sup>r</sup> ook.</p> |
| Full title    | <p>RECHT-BANCK   Tegen de Ydele, Kor&lt;s&gt;elige, ende Wi&lt;s&gt;pelturige   VROUWEN.   Wraeck-&lt;s&gt;ucht der Weduwen:   MITSGADERS DER REGEERSUCHTIGE VROUWEN.   Geeft ook vonnis,   Over den Lof van alle Deughd&lt;s&gt;ame en Godvree&lt;s&gt;ende Vrouwen.   <u>Seer aerdigh en kortswijligh, in 't Engels, Be&lt;s&gt;chreven,   (In drie be&lt;s&gt;ondere Deelen.)</u>   DOOR   JOSEPH ZWETNAM, Edelman.   <u>Oock is hier achter by gevoeght, een t' Samenspraeck, of de Vrouwen Men&lt;s&gt;chen zijn, of niet,   tu&lt;ss&gt;chen twee Gee&lt;s&gt;telicke Per&lt;s&gt;onen.</u>   [woodcut]   t'Am&lt;s&gt;terdam gedrukt by de Wed. J. VAN EGMONT, Papier en Boekver-   koop&lt;s&gt;ter, op de Reguliers Bree&lt;s&gt;traat, in de Nieuwe Drukkery 1730.</p>   |
| Running title | <p>B2<sup>v</sup>-E4<sup>v</sup> Recht-banck, tegen de kor&lt;s&gt;elige en wi&lt;s&gt;pelturige Vrouwen.<br/>F1<sup>v</sup>-F2<sup>v</sup> BYVOEGHSEL.</p>  |
| Full title    | <p>BEEREN-JACHT,   Aen-wij&lt;s&gt;ende d'Onge&lt;s&gt;tadigheyd en Ongebondenheyd   Der   WEDUWEN.   Tot Waer&lt;s&gt;chowinge van alle Mans-Per&lt;s&gt;onen   In het Engels Be&lt;s&gt;chreven, door den wel-Ge&lt;s&gt;tudeerden Poët,   JOSEPH ZWETNAM, Edelman.   Zijnde het <u>TWEDE DEEL</u>, van de   RECHT-BANCK.   [woodcut]   t'Am&lt;s&gt;terdam Gedrukt by de Wed. J. VAN EGMONT, Pampier en Boekverkoop&lt;s&gt;ter,   op de Reguliers Bree&lt;s&gt;traat, in de Nieuwe Drukkery 1730.</p>  |
| Running title | F4 <sup>v</sup> -G1 <sup>v</sup> Beeren-Jacht der Weduwen.   |
| Full title    | <p>RECHT-BANCK,   Tegen de   Regeer&lt;s&gt;uchtige Vrouwen,   <u>Seer aerdigh, ende kortswijligh, Be&lt;s&gt;chreven,   (In het Engelsch)</u>   Door den kluchtigen Poët,   JOSEPH ZWETNAM,</p>   |

Edelman. | Ende nu in 't Neder-duyts Vertaelt. | HET  
DERDE DEEL. | [woodcut] | t'Am<s>terdam gedrukt by de  
Wed. J. VAN EGMONT, Papier en Boekver- | koop<s>ter, op  
de Reguliers Bree<s>traat, in de Nieuwe Drukkery 1730. |

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Running title  | G4 <sup>v</sup> -K2 <sup>v</sup> Recht-banck, tegen de Regeer<s>uchtige Vrouwen.   |
| Full title     | DISCOURS OFTE t'SAMEN-SPRAECK,   OF DE   VROUWEN  <br>Men<s>chen <u>zyn of Niet</u> :   Tu<ss>chen twee Per<s>oonen,<br>den eenen Genaemt   BROEDER ANDRIES,   Der Wyven Vyandt:<br>  Den anderen geheten   PATER EUGENIUS,   Toe-genaemt<br>der Wijven Vriendt.   Waer toe yder zyn krachtig te<br>bewy<s>en in-brengt, om malkanderen   met Redenen, te<br>over-tuygen.   [woodcut]   t'Am<s>terdam gedrukt by de<br>Wed. J. VAN EGMONT, Papier en Boekver-   koop<s>ter, op<br>de Reguliers Bree<s>traat, in de Nieuwe Drukkery 1730. |
| Running title  | K4 <sup>v</sup> -M4 <sup>r</sup> Di<s>cours, ofte t'Samen-<s>praeck,   of de<br>Vrouwen Men<s>chen zijn, of niet.  |
| Copy described | Leyden University Library 188 E 20. Calf. Text 161 x<br>141. Average leaf 230 x 171.<br>Ms. transcription of the title-page of the 1649<br>edition, with a ms. note: 'Uit de Librye n <sup>o</sup> 2, pag 15',<br>and an additional note: 'titel in rood op zwart; vignet<br>op den titel in rood gedrukt'.  |
| Copies noted   | UBL  |

## Chapter 6

### Text introduction

#### 6.1 Date of composition

Nothing is known about the date of composition of The Araignment of Women beyond the bare fact of its entry in the Stationers' Registers on 8 February 1615. There is slender circumstantial evidence as to rough dates of composition in the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women when Swash, Swetnam's servant, comments on his master's career:

And then he tooke the habit of a Fencer:  
And set up Schoole at Bristow: there he liv'd  
A yeere or two, till he had writ this Booke:  
And then the women beat him out the Towne,  
And then we came to London: there forsooth,  
He put his Booke i'the Presse, and publish't it.<sup>1</sup>

The playwright(s) of Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women may have wished to incorporate some amount of biographical information to add more detail to the possibly already notorious figure of Swetnam. Swetnam did have connections with Bristol;<sup>2</sup> if the vague reference 'a yeere or two' is at all reliable, The Araignment of Women was written the year before its publication in 1614.

There is no internal evidence in the text to suggest a specific date as there are no topical allusions to point to any particular time of composition. All the sources which Swetnam definitely or very probably used to aid him in writing his diatribe against women, The Civile Conversation (1581), The Foreste or a collection of histories (1571), A Heptameron of Civill Discourses (1582),<sup>3</sup> The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius (1535) and Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit (1578), are most of them firmly restricted to the sixteenth century<sup>4</sup> and can therefore provide no clue as to date of composition.<sup>5</sup>

#### 6.2 Copytext B: Reasons for choosing B rather than A

Although A is the first edition of The Araignment of Women, B rather than A has been chosen as copytext for the present edition. This decision was made on the grounds of readability of the text. The punctuation and the grammar of B are an improvement on A in this sense. In the following paragraphs,

attention will be paid to the punctuation and grammar of B as opposed to A, while the spelling practices of the compositors of A and B will also be briefly dealt with.

The punctuation of A is rather careless compared to that of B. The relative sparsity of the punctuation in A suggests a hurried or indifferent compositorial practice.<sup>6</sup> The compositor of B punctuated heavily: he added a great many commas, and frequently substituted colons or semi-colons for commas. Without altering sentences, he thus made an attempt at bringing more coherence to the sentence structure of the text as he found it. The following passage, consisting of a single sentence, is representative of the standards of punctuation of A and B. The passage occurs on E4<sup>v</sup> of both editions:

(A) For women are like the bay tree which is ever greene but without fruit, or like the unprofitable thorne which beareth as trim a blossome as the apple, this is nothing but to tell thee that thou must not judge of gold by the colour, nor of  
5 womens qualitties by their faces, nor by their speeches, for they have delicate tongues which will ravish and tickle the itching eares of giddy headed young men, so foolish, that they thinke themselves hap -- py if they can but kisse the dasie whereon their love doth tread, who if she frowne then  
10 he descends presently into hell, but if she smile then is he carried with winges up into heaven, there is an old saying that when a dogge waggis his taile he loves his maister.

(B) For women are like the Bay tree, which is ever green, but without fruit; or like the unprofitable thorne, which beareth as trim a blossome as the apple: this is nothing, but to tell thee that thou must not judge of gold by the colour, nor of  
5 womens qualities by their faces, nor by their speeches; for they have delicate tongues, which wil ravish and tickle the itching eares of giddy headed yong men, so foolish, that they thinke themselves happy if they can but kisse the dazie whereon their love doth tread; who if she frowne, then he  
10 descends presently into hell: but if she smile, then is hee carried with wings up into heaven: there is an old saying, that when a dog wags his tayle, he loves his master.

It is clear that in A the only attempt at ordering this sentence is made by means of the insertion of commas, and even then the practice is not consistently or carefully applied. The last part of the sentence for example, 'there is an old saying that when a dogge waggis his taile he loves his maister', benefits from the insertion of the two commas in B. The passage does not require them for grammatical purposes, but in their absence (as in A) the reader is hurried towards the conclusion of the passage.



The compositor of B added nine punctuation marks and changed another six. His practice in this was not arbitrary: he added commas to mark off relative clauses (line 1: 'the Bay tree, which is ever green'; lines 2-3: 'the unprofitable thorne, which beareth as trim a blossome as the apple'; line 6: 'delicate tongues, which wil ravish and tickle'), to mark off adverbial clauses (lines 9-10: 'if she frowne, then he descends presently into hell'; lines 10-11: 'if she smile, then is hee carried with wings up into heaven'; line 12: 'when a dog wags his tayle, he loves his master'), to mark off noun phrases (lines 3-4: 'this is nothing, but to tell thee'; lines 11-12: 'there is an old saying, that when a dog wags his tayle'), and to separate an antithetical phrase (lines 1-2: 'which is ever green, but without fruit').

He substitutes semi-colons for commas to mark off a coordinated phrase (lines 1-3: 'For women are like the bay tree, which is ever green, but without fruit; or like the unprofitable thorne, which beareth as trim a blossome as the apple'), to mark off a relative clause, the antecedent of which does not immediately precede the relative pronoun (lines 7-9: 'giddy headed yong men, so foolish, that they thinke themselves happy if they can but kisse the dazie whereon their love doth tread; who if she frowne'),<sup>7</sup> and an adverbial clause (lines 4-6: 'thou must not judge of gold by the colour, nor of womens qualities by their faces, nor by their speeches; for they have delicate tongues').

In two cases, when the compositor of B employs colons, the main clauses following the colon could have been separated from the preceding main clauses by a full stop (line 3 and line 11). Colons were often used as full stops. The compositor of B seems to have attached a more independent status to these clauses within the composite sentence than was warranted by the mere use of commas in A. Likewise, the colon in line 10 separates a coordinated phrase which contrasts in meaning with the preceding clause.

The compositor<sup>8</sup> of B thus produced a text far more carefully punctuated than the compositor of the original text of A.<sup>9</sup> He seems to have been more aware of the relationship of clauses within sentences, and he was also more consistent in expressing their relationship in terms of punctuation.

As far as grammar is concerned, the text of A contains a few instances of lack of agreement between noun and verb ('Roses [...] prickles'; 'Bees [...] stinges', Fl<sup>v</sup>), which are corrected in B. Other instances of lack of concord, which are not ungrammatical in the historical sense, are also made to agree in B. A list of instances will follow; where the lack of agreement would not

have been considered wrong in the early seventeenth century, the arabic numbers refer to the relevant paragraphs in F. Th. Visser, An Historical Syntax of the English Language.

| A  | B  |
|--|--|
| (82) A2 <sup>v</sup> all the bad conditions that is<br>in some women   | all the bad conditions that are<br>in some women   |
| (82) C1 <sup>r</sup> some will never bee warned and<br>therefore is not to be pittied<br>if they be harmed   | some will never bee warned, and<br>therefoe tis not to bee pittied<br>if they be harmed  |
| C4 <sup>r</sup> hir handes are ready to<br>practise that which their heart<br>desireth                       | her hands are ready to practise<br>that which her heart desireth                         |
| (81) D1 <sup>v</sup> it furroweth his browes and<br>make the eyes dimme                                      | it furroweth his browes, and<br>maketh the eyes dimme                                    |
| (82) D4 <sup>v</sup> as our Schoole-men doth write   | as our Schoole-men do write  |
| (94) E1 <sup>r</sup> lust and uncleannesse<br>continually keepes them company                                | lust and uncleannesse<br>continually keepe them company                                  |
| F1 <sup>r</sup> with a Commendations   | with a Commendation  |
| F1 <sup>v</sup> Roses unadvisedly gathered<br>prickles our fingers   | Roses unadvisedly gathered<br>prickle our fingers  |
| F1 <sup>v</sup> Bees ungently handled stinges<br>our faces   | Bees ungently handled, sting<br>our faces  |
| H2 <sup>r</sup> our children, being young, they<br>play, prattle, laugh, and<br>sheweth us many pretty toyes | our children, being young, they<br>play, prattle, laugh and shew<br>us many pretty toyes |
| (82) H4 <sup>v</sup> his hands hath battered   | his hands have battered  |
| (94) I1 <sup>r</sup> a great terror to a woman which<br>are counted but weake vessels                        | a great terrour to women, which<br>are counted but weake vessels                         |
| (82) I4 <sup>v</sup> the torments that is with women   | the torments that are with<br>women  |

In general B improves on the text of A, with two exceptions; where A has 'and yet I cannot let men go blamelesse although women go shamelesse; but I will touch them both' (C3<sup>v</sup>), B reads: 'and yet I cannot let them goe blamelesse'. The substitution of the pronoun 'them' for 'men' is incorrect since in the context of the passage it would grammatically refer to 'lewd women'.<sup>10</sup> The other change concerns an omission; the proverb 'for the Mother would never have sought her Daughter in the Oven but that she was there first herselfe' (A2<sup>r</sup>), is reproduced in B without the word 'first'.

The following list gives the changes made in the text of B:

| A   | B   |
|---|---|
| A2 <sup>r</sup> I have sought for honey, caught<br>the Bee by the taile | I have sought for honey, &<br>caught the Bee by the taile |
| A3 <sup>v</sup> Thomas Telltroth  | Joseph Swetnam  |
| A4 <sup>v</sup> Thy friend nameles/ to keepe                            | Thy friend, Joseph Swetnam                                |

selfe blameles

|                 |  |  |
|-----------------|--|--|
| B2 <sup>r</sup> | the more the wind blow'd   | the more the wind did blow   |
| B3 <sup>r</sup> | and <u>Augustus</u> <sup>11</sup> he wished that   | and <u>Augustus</u> wished, that   |
| C3 <sup>v</sup> | <u>venus</u>   | <u>Venus</u>   |
| C3 <sup>v</sup> | <u>vulcan</u>  | <u>Vulcan</u>  |
| D1 <sup>r</sup> | <u>Corinthians</u> the 1.6.9.  | 1. <u>Corinthians</u> the 7.2  |
| F1 <sup>v</sup> | apply thy selfe about some<br>affaires, or occupied about<br>busnesse  | apply thy selfe about some<br>affaires, or be occupied about<br>some busnesse                                    |
| F4 <sup>v</sup> | the goodliest gardens are not<br>free from weedes, no more is<br>the best nor the fairest woman<br>void of ill deeds | the goodliest gardens are not<br>free from weeds, no more is the<br>best nor the fairest woman from<br>ill deeds |
| G3 <sup>v</sup> | if thou hadest a spring such a<br>wench would make him a begger  | if one had a spring such a<br>wench would make him a beggar  |
| H3 <sup>v</sup> | Why some men love their lovers<br>better then their husbands   | Why some women love their<br>lovers better then their<br>husbands  |
| H3 <sup>v</sup> | whereby there may no suspicion<br>of jealousie or any acception <sup>12</sup><br>be taken by anything he doth        | whereby there may no suspicion<br>of jealousie or any exception<br>bee taken by anything he<br>doth              |
| H4 <sup>r</sup> | he ought rather paciently to<br>forbeare her then rigorously<br>to beate her, for she is flesh<br>of thy flesh       | he ought rather patiently to<br>forbeare her, then rigorously<br>to beate her, for she is flesh<br>of his flesh  |

The compositor of B also corrected the misprints in A. He substituted relatively few misprints of his own: 'metlted' for 'mettled', on F4<sup>v</sup>, which seems a simple inversion of two letters that would otherwise have provided a correct spelling; 'must women have' for 'most women have', 'one a time' for 'on a time', and the '2' in page number 42 turned upside down, on G1<sup>v</sup> (the sloppiest page of all); a question mark after 'swines snowte' on G2<sup>r</sup>; a comma after 'will' in 'such a wife will make thee happy', 'a devilish and unhappy women' for 'woman', both on G4<sup>r</sup>; and finally 'foe' instead of 'for', on I4<sup>v</sup>.

The compositor of B substituted the 'ei' spelling in such words as 'Preist' (B3<sup>r</sup>), 'feirce' (B4<sup>r</sup>), 'Feind' (E1<sup>v</sup>) and 'yeild'. The spelling of the word 'guift' (F1<sup>r</sup>, F3<sup>r</sup>) he changed to 'gift'. He standardized the unusual spelling of Simerrymes (D4<sup>v</sup>) to 'Semiramis',<sup>13</sup> but he misunderstood the reference to Circe (B2<sup>v</sup>), spelt Xerx[ze]<sup>14</sup> in A, which he understood to be Xerxes. In the text of A, 'hir' and 'her' were used alternately; the compositor of B consistently used 'her'.

The changes in the text of B are thus seen to be mostly changes that positively influence the readability of the text. The alterations in punctuation are an improvement on the text of A, but do not change the text of The Araignment of Women. The changes in spelling and grammar are also

alterations that make for greater readability without affecting the original text. It is also debatable whether the spelling of A is Swetnam's or the compositor's, so that there is no reason to preserve the inadequate spelling of the first edition. Since B does not otherwise introduce any really substantial changes in the text, which would have resulted in a different text from that of A, B seems to provide the better copytext. The British Library copy (C.142.cc.30) of B has been used for this edition.

### 6.3 A: Bodleian and Folger copies compared

There are two extant copies of the first edition of The Araignment of Women, Bodleian 4<sup>o</sup>.H.18.Art(3) and Folger F.23533. The Folger Shakespeare Library copy contains the corrected sheets of A, B and G (which are uncorrected in the Bodleian Library copy), while sheets C, D, E, F, H and I are uncorrected, as in the Bodleian Library copy.

The Bodleian Library copy contains only uncorrected sheets (but with a corrected title-page), while the Folger copy has a title-page which is uncorrected.<sup>15</sup> Since sheets A, B and G of the Folger copy are corrected, but the other sheets are not, the corrected and uncorrected sheets of the Folger copy of A were probably bound up indiscriminately.<sup>16</sup>

The following list contains the variants in the two copies:

| Folger (A1)                           | Bodleian (A2)                    |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| A2 <sup>r</sup> begile                | beguild                          |
| withal                                | with all                         |
| vermine                               | varmine                          |
| A2 <sup>v</sup> the manner of Shrowes | the manner Shrowes               |
| Cucking-stoole                        | Cooking-stoole                   |
| descant                               | discand                          |
| A3 <sup>r</sup> surmise               | surmice                          |
| sauce                                 | sause                            |
| A3 <sup>v</sup> Thomas Tel-troth      | Thomas Telltroth                 |
| A4 <sup>r</sup> warne                 | waren                            |
| B2 <sup>v</sup> <u>Xerx[s]es</u>      | <u>Xerz[s]es</u>                 |
| G1 <sup>r</sup> seacrecie             | seacrecie                        |
| G2 <sup>v</sup> thee (2)              | the (2)                          |
| G3 <sup>r</sup> houshold jarres       | housholders jarres <sup>17</sup> |
| G4 <sup>v</sup> presence              | presents                         |

There are also variants in the punctuation of the corrected and uncorrected sheets.<sup>18</sup> Most of the variants in the Folger copy concern either emendations of printing errors ('seacrecie'; 'surmice'; 'beguild'; 'waren'), or the

standardization of spelling variations in the uncorrected sheets of the Bodleian copy which, though not necessarily wrong, have nevertheless been emended in the Folger copy: 'Cooking-stoole'; 'discand'; and 'varmine',<sup>19</sup>. Obvious mistakes, such as 'the manner Shrowes', and 'housholders jarres', as well as 'slew herselfe in the presents of many' have also been corrected.

Although these emendations in the corrected sheets of the Folger copy are minor, and are only limited to sheets A, B and G, the variants indicate that stop-press correction was used when the sheets of The Araignment of Women were printed off.

#### 6.4 Transmission of the text

The genealogy of The Araignment of Women is relatively straightforward. All editions<sup>20</sup> but H, which was printed from A, are descended in a linear line. The following list reproduces the family tree:

| format          | reference<br>number | year of<br>publication | edition<br>(anr=another) | (E)STC/Wing |  |
|-----------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|--|
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | A                   | 1615                   | first ed                 | 23533       |  |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | B                   | 1615                   | anr ed                   | 23534       | p. by p. repr of A                             |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | C                   | 1616                   | anr ed                   | 23535       | p. by p. repr of B                             |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | D                   | 1617                   | anr ed                   | 23536       | p. by p. repr of C                             |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | E                   | 1619                   | anr ed                   | 23537       | p. by p. repr of D                             |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | F                   | 1622                   | anr ed                   | 23538       | p. by p. repr of E                             |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | G                   | 1628                   | anr ed                   | 23539       | p. by p. repr of F                             |
| 8 <sup>o</sup>  | H                   | 1629                   | new ed                   | 23540       | reprinted from A                               |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | I                   | 1634                   | new ed                   | 23541       | reprinted from G;<br>type re-set sheets<br>D-I |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | J                   | 1637                   | anr ed                   | 23542       | p. by p. repr of I                             |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | K                   | 1645                   | anr ed                   | S 6251      | p. by p. repr of J                             |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | L                   | 1660                   | anr ed                   | S 6252      | p. by p. repr of K                             |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | M                   | 1682                   | anr ed                   | S 6252B     | p. by p. repr of L                             |
| 8 <sup>o</sup>  | N                   | 1702                   | new ed                   | t135497     | reprinted from M                               |
| 12 <sup>o</sup> | O                   | 1704                   | new ed                   |             | reprinted from N                               |
| 12 <sup>o</sup> | P                   | 1707                   | anr ed                   | t135498     | reprinted from O                               |
| 12 <sup>o</sup> | Q                   | [n.d.]                 | anr ed                   |             | reprinted from P                               |
| 12 <sup>o</sup> | R                   | 1733                   | anr ed                   | t135499     | reprinted from Q                               |
| 4 <sup>o</sup>  | S                   | 1807                   | anr ed                   |             | reprinted from A                               |

Lowndes also mentions editions of 1620, 1632 and 1662<sup>21</sup>; Hazlitt mentions an edition of 1654 and the 1662 edition, while Anthony Wood notes in his copy of the 1637 edition that there was an edition of 1621. Finally, the sale

catalogue of Thomas Jolley, the nineteenth-century book collector, includes a reference to a 1711 edition of The Araignment of Women.<sup>22</sup> This would bring the number of known reprints, excluding the antiquarian reprint of 1807, to twenty-three.

The following readings show that each edition was reprinted from its predecessor (only the signatures of the second quarto edition [B] have been used as a standard of signature reference):

| A  | B                      | C                      |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|
| B2 <sup>r</sup> the wind blow'd          | the wind did blow      | the wind did blow      |
| C1 <sup>r</sup> is not to be pittied     | tis not to be pittied  | tis not to be pittied  |
| C3 <sup>v</sup> let men goe              | let them goe           | let them goe           |
| D1 <sup>r</sup> lCorintihians the 1.6.9. | lCorintihians the 7.2. | lCorintihians the 7.2. |
| G3 <sup>v</sup> if thou hadest           | if one had             | if one had             |
| H4 <sup>v</sup> flesh of thy flesh       | flesh of his flesh     | flesh of his flesh     |

  

| B                                    | C                    | D                    |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| A2 <sup>r</sup> and better it were   | and it were better   | and it were better   |
| A4 <sup>v</sup> I hope I may call it | I may call it I hope | I may call it I hope |
| C3 <sup>v</sup> some knaves          | so many knaves       | so many knaves       |
| C4 <sup>r</sup> or so soft           | & so soft            | and so soft          |
| F3 <sup>r</sup> must maintain        | must needes maintain | must needes maintain |
| G1 <sup>r</sup> in all my life       | in my life           | in my life           |
| G4 <sup>v</sup> one time             | once                 | once                 |
| H2 <sup>v</sup> no body              | no man               | no man               |

  

| C                               | D                | E                |
|---------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| A4 <sup>r</sup> fret them       | fear them        | fear them        |
| A4 <sup>v</sup> friend Reader   | friendly Reader  | friendly Reader  |
| A4 <sup>v</sup> footing         | feete            | feete            |
| B1 <sup>r</sup> small occasion  | a small occasion | a small occasion |
| D3 <sup>r</sup> place           | Pallace          | Pallace          |
| E1 <sup>v</sup> evill bird      | ill Bird         | ill Bird         |
| G4 <sup>r</sup> unstained tears | unfained tears   | unfained tears   |
| H1 <sup>r</sup> grievously      | willingly        | willingly        |

  

| D                                      | E                          | F                          |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| A3 <sup>r</sup> if by no means         | if by means                | if by means                |
| F4 <sup>v</sup> chastise               | chasten                    | chasten                    |
| H2 <sup>v</sup> hard favoured          | hard favour                | hard favour                |
| H4 <sup>r</sup> with words             | with such words            | with kind words            |
| H4 <sup>v</sup> the servants carelesse | the servants are carelesse | the servants are carelesse |

  

| E                                       | F                         | G                     |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| A2 <sup>r</sup> I must confesse         | I might confesse          | I might confesse      |
| A3 <sup>r</sup> in a manner forgetting  | in a manner I forgot      | in a manner I forgot  |
| A4 <sup>r</sup> Cerberus the two-headed | Cerberus the three-headed | Cerberus three-headed |
| B1 <sup>v</sup> nothing more            | anything more             | anything more         |
| D4 <sup>r</sup> conquer his affection   | conquer her affection     | conquer her affection |
| G4 <sup>r</sup> make thee happy         | make thee a happy man     | make thee a happy man |

| F  | G                       | I                      |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------|
| D4 <sup>v</sup> and also she was tempted | and so she was tempted  | and so she was tempted |
| H1 <sup>r</sup> he himselfe must first   | hee himself surely must | he himselfe surely     |
| dye                                      | first dye               | shall first die        |
| H1 <sup>r</sup> such a kinde foole       | such a kinde an         | such a kinde Animall   |
|  | Animall                 |                        |
| H2 <sup>v</sup> that which they refuse   | that they refuse        | that they refuse       |
| H3 <sup>r</sup> this poynt               | this same point         | the same point         |

| G  | I                      | J                      |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|
| A2 <sup>v</sup> but by her               | but with her           | but by her             |
| C4 <sup>v</sup> were by God created      | were of God created    | were by God created    |
| D3 <sup>v</sup> flye a wicked            | flye from a wicked     | flye a wicked          |
| H1 <sup>v</sup> the good and the bad     | good and the bad       | the good and the bad   |
| H1 <sup>v</sup> and yet there is         | and there is           | and yet there is       |
| H3 <sup>r</sup> getteth a good Sonne     | getting a good Sonne   | getteth a good Sonne   |
| H3 <sup>r</sup> this same point          | the same point         | this same point        |
| I3 <sup>v</sup> house out at a Window    | house out at window    | house out at a window  |
| A3 <sup>r</sup> but it is a great        | but that it is a great | but that it is a great |
| A4 <sup>r</sup> before I doe open        | before I open          | before I open          |
| B2 <sup>v</sup> the Art of flatterie     | their Art of flatterie | their Art of flatterie |
| B2 <sup>v</sup> <u>Xerxes</u> cunning    | <u>Circes</u> cunning  | <u>Circes</u> cunning  |
| D3 <sup>v</sup> <u>Diaveras</u>          | <u>Deianiras</u>       | <u>Deianiras</u>       |
| G2 <sup>v</sup> evill Bird               | ill Bird               | ill Bird               |
| H1 <sup>r</sup> downe, ended             | downe, and both ended  | downe, and both ended  |
| H1 <sup>r</sup> King of <u>Ayra</u>      | King <u>Darius</u>     | King <u>Darius</u>     |
| H1 <sup>r</sup> surely must first dye    | surely shall first die | surely shall first dye |
| H2 <sup>r</sup> content, sitting smiling | content, she sitting   | content, she sitting   |
|  | smiling                | smiling                |
| H3 <sup>v</sup> to confirme himself      | to conforme himself    | to conforme himself    |

| I   | J                               | K                            |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| B3 <sup>r</sup> <u>Augustus</u>               | <u>Augustine</u>                | <u>Augustine</u>             |
| B4 <sup>r</sup> of the new fashion            | on the new fashion              | on the new fashion           |
| D1 <sup>r</sup> 1 <u>Corinth</u> . the 6. and | 1 <u>Corinth</u> . the 6. chap. | 1 <u>Corinth</u> the 6. chap |
| 11.   | and 11. verse                   | and 11. verse                |
| D4 <sup>v</sup> <u>Venus</u>                  | <u>Venise</u>                   | <u>Venise</u>                |
| H1 <sup>v</sup> <u>Valerius Maximus</u>       | <u>Valerius Maximus</u>         | <u>Tiberius Gracchus*</u>    |
| I1 <sup>v</sup> coles [...] doe               | coles [...] doth                | coles [...] doth             |
| I1 <sup>v</sup> company [...] doe             | company [...] doth              | company [...] doth           |
| I2 <sup>r</sup> Beare-bayting                 | Bare-bayting                    | Bare-bayting                 |

\* British Library copy: Tiberius Gracchus; Bodleian Library copy: Valerius Maximus.

| J                                | K                   | L                   |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| B4 <sup>r</sup> than death;      | then death?         | than death?         |
| C3 <sup>v</sup> <u>Salomon</u>   | <u>Solomon</u>      | <u>Solomon</u>      |
| E4 <sup>v</sup> giddy-headed     | <u>giddy-headed</u> | <u>giddy-headed</u> |
| F2 <sup>r</sup> (35)             | (38)                | (35)                |
| I4 <sup>v</sup> <u>FI[N]IS**</u> | <u>F[I]N[I]S**</u>  | <u>FINIS</u>        |

\*\* Swash N in J, swash I in K.

K  
 A3<sup>r</sup> better beleevd  
 A3<sup>v</sup> I beginne to be  
 A4<sup>v</sup> censure hardly  
 D2<sup>r</sup> Lavia  
 E3<sup>r</sup> plucked for her feathers  
 F3<sup>r</sup> but if they conclude  
  
 G4<sup>v</sup> Tiberius Gracchus  
 I2<sup>r</sup> called him theefe  
 I4<sup>v</sup> you should be

L  
 better beloved  
 I began to be  
 censure hard  
Lamia  
 plucked for feathers  
 but yet they conclude  
  
Valerius Maximus  
 called him these  
 you shall be

M  
 better beloved  
 I began to be  
 censure hard  
Lamia  
 plucked for feathers  
 but yet they  
 conclude  
Valerius Maximus  
 called him these  
 you shall be

L  
 B1<sup>v</sup> for one of them said  
  
 B3<sup>r</sup> out of the mouth  
 C1<sup>r</sup> have her credit  
 D2<sup>r</sup> play at small game  
 F4<sup>r</sup> out of a window  
 H1<sup>r</sup> such a kinde an  
 H2<sup>v</sup> and they refuse  
 H2<sup>r</sup> but one only  
 H3<sup>r</sup> an ill one  
 I1<sup>r</sup> which stealeth when

M  
 for the one of them said  
  
 out of one mouth  
 lose her credit  
 play at small gain  
 out at a window  
 such a kinde of  
 that they refuse  
 but only one  
 all in one  
 which will steale when

N  
 for the one of them  
 said  
 out of one mouth  
 lose her credit  
 play at small gain  
 out at a window  
 such a kinde of  
 that they refuse  
 but only one  
 all in one  
 which will steal  
 when

M  
 B4<sup>v</sup> as she stands not in  
 need of  
 D4<sup>r</sup> given herself to a  
 number  
 E1<sup>r</sup> cunny catching  
 E1<sup>v</sup> born to ourselves, to  
 live  
 H3<sup>r</sup> shamefast

N  
 as she stands in need of  
 given herself to a many  
 cunning catching  
 born to live  
 shamefac'd

O  
 as she stands in need  
 of  
 given herself to a  
 many  
 cunning catching  
 born to live  
 shamefac'd

N  
 A2<sup>r</sup> rough of my fury  
 A3<sup>r</sup> Cucking-stool  
 A4<sup>r</sup> if thou mean  
 B3<sup>r</sup> why he married not?  
 B3<sup>r</sup> Augustine  
 B3<sup>v</sup> thou may'st hap  
 G4<sup>r</sup> some thrive [...]  
 ill Husbandry  
 I1<sup>v</sup> to bowle, to run

O  
 heighth of my fury  
 Ducking-stool  
 if you desire  
 why he did not marry?  
 S. Austin  
 thou may'st chance  
 [omitted]  
 'to bowle' omitted

P  
 Heighth of my Fury  
 Ducking-stool  
 if you desire  
 why he did not marry?  
 S. Austin  
 thou may'st chance  
 [omitted]  
 'to bowle' omitted

O  
 H4<sup>v</sup> having a Wife, and a  
 sufficient Wife

P  
 having a Wife, with a  
 sufficient Wit

Q  
 having a Wife, with a  
 sufficient Wit

P  
 A3<sup>v</sup> taking my Pen

Q  
 I took my Pen

R  
 I tooke my Pen



|  |                                  |                              |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| A4 <sup>r</sup> stinging Hornets                     | stinking Hornets                 | stinking Hornets             |
| E2 <sup>r</sup> for those of ill Report              | for of those ill Report          | for of those ill Report      |
| E4 <sup>v</sup> some think that if                   | some that if                     | some that if                 |
| G4 <sup>r</sup> Lackey                               | Hackney                          | Hackney                      |
| H2 <sup>v</sup> that they will not have her hindered | that they will have her hindered | that they will have hindered |
| H4 <sup>r</sup> rigorously                           | righteously                      | righteously                  |

|                                  |                  |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| Q                                | R                |
| F3 <sup>r</sup> Chirurgeon       | Surgeon          |
| F3 <sup>v</sup> to doat on women | to dot one woman |
| H3 <sup>r</sup> with all in one  | with an ill one  |

Each edition corrects some of the errors of its predecessor, but also maintains, or initiates, others, which are then either incorporated in the subsequent editions, or emended. All verbal changes as well as significant changes in spelling, have been listed in the textual footnotes. A few remarks on each successive edition of The Araignment of Women will follow, in order to describe each edition, and also to demonstrate its relation to the edition by which it is followed.

A is the first edition of The Araignment of Women. It was published under the pseudonym of Thomas Telltroth, a practice abandoned in B and subsequent editions. The printer whom Thomas Archer employed, Edward Allde, was a jobbing printer and A has the appearance of having been a rather careless production. It is typographically inferior to B, the reprint which came out in the same year. The preliminaries are not distinguished from the main body of the text by a different type, but are set in roman, as is the text. The second Epistle immediately follows the first Epistle on the same page, and is then followed by a blank page (A4<sup>v</sup>). The chapter headings are distinguished from the text only by the use of smaller roman type. Subsequent editions have the chapter headings in italic type, which has greater contrastive value. Likewise the proverb-mongering poem on F4<sup>v</sup>, starting with the line 'He that useth troth to tell', is set in the same roman type as the rest of the text, without spaces, which again gives the impression that A was set without great attention to typographical detail.

The title-page of A (of which the Folger and Bodleian copies have variant states) strengthens the impression of typographical indifference: the title is set in roman throughout, without any italic lines (which, however haphazardly they are usually selected, add variety to the title-page). The only italic type used is in the imprint, where, naturally, the printer's and the bookseller's name are distinguished in this manner, as is the place of

publication. There is some attempt at typographical arrangement of the title-page (the first line is centered, the lines taken up by each successive sentence are tapered) but the effect is not very appealing.

The woodcut on the title-page of A sets the theme for each edition up to 1634, when The Araignment of Women acquired its 'own' woodcut. It features a lady dressed in a farthingale and ruff, holding a fan, a woodcut which was also regularly used for ballads and the title-pages of comedies on women and so must have been meant to establish a link between this category of popular literature and The Araignment of Women.<sup>23</sup>

The carelessness which characterizes A as far as typography is concerned, is also evident in the desultory punctuation of the text. A gives the impression therefore of having been produced with some haste, and without great care.

B, printed in the same year by George Purslowe, is typographically an improvement on A. The preliminaries are set in italic, and their lay-out is more successfully managed so that the second Epistle starts on A4<sup>r</sup> without continuing straight after the first Epistle. The make-up of the preliminaries of B is another indication that A preceded B: the compositor improved the make-up of his own text using A as a model. The chapter headings and proverb-mongering poem on F4<sup>v</sup> are set in italic type. Subsequent editions (except H) imitate the typographical arrangements of B.

The title-page, in essence the advertisement for The Araignment of Women, is typographically superior to that of A. The compositor of B used a variety of italic and roman type. The woodcut, different from the one used for A but identical in subject-matter, is again one which buyers of ballads and plays on women would have been familiar with.

Although B is printed from A page by page (with the exception of the preliminaries), more care has been taken over general appearance, while the punctuation and emendations of the text of B also suggest greater carefulness in the production of this edition.

C was published the next year in 1616, and like D and E was probably printed by Thomas Snodham.<sup>24</sup> It is a page by page reprint of B. The woodcut on the title-page of C is identical to that of A, but the set-up of the title-page mainly follows B.<sup>25</sup> The Epistles are printed in italic, the text is printed in roman. The text of C follows B entirely, although there are a few verbal alterations which are incorporated in subsequent editions. The compositor of C corrected the misprints in B, but inevitably added some of

his own, notably 'the young Crab groeth [A, B: 'goeth'] crooked like the Damme', a misprint which, though insignificant in itself, would lead to a - minor - substantive change in D.

D, which came out in 1617, is set page by page from C. The woodcut on the title-page of D is identical to that of B. The Epistles are printed in italic, the text is set in roman type. D shows more substantive changes than C. The compositor of D changed more words, omitted a complete line (on A4<sup>v</sup>), changed another (on G2<sup>v</sup>), and corrected a mistake in the text which Rachel Speght, the first respondent in the Swetnam controversy, had singled out for attack in her A Mouzell for Melastomus (1617).

The misprint in the text of C, 'the young Crab groeth crooked like the Damme', led the compositor of D to substitute 'the young Cub groweth craftie like the Damme'. It is likely therefore that the compositor of D did not have a copy of B, or A, when he set up the type for his copy.

The compositor of D introduced more independent alterations: the original 'for doubt [fear] lest thou marry in haste, and repent by leysure' (A, B, C) is changed to 'for doubtles if thou marry in haste, thou wilt repent by leysure' (F1<sup>v</sup>). This change, which persists in all subsequent editions, is not accidental in the sense that the compositor of D cannot have misread 'for doubt lest' as 'for doubtles'.<sup>26</sup> Another verbal change, maintained in subsequent editions, is the substitution of 'willingly' for 'grievously' in 'he most grievously made choice of the male' (H1<sup>r</sup>). This change seems to be the result of an independent, 'editorial' choice, since it makes the decision of Tiberius Gracchus, who was confronted with the necessity of killing either a male or a female serpent, and so determining either his own death or that of his wife, more heroic. The emendation of 'and yet I cannot let them go blamelesse' (B, C) to 'and yet I cannot let men go blamelesse' (A), also seems to be an independent alteration.

D also reads 'It is strange to see the mad feates of women, for they will now be merry, now sad' instead of (as in A, B and C) 'It is wonderful to see the mad feates of women, for she will now be merry, now sad' (C2<sup>r</sup>). This passage was attacked by Rachel Speght as a 'wonderfoole' example of ungrammaticality. The compositor or proofreader restored concord to this passage, and also deleted the word 'wonderful', the occasion of Speght's pun.<sup>27</sup> As has been noted earlier, Thomas Archer, who published The Araignment of Women, also published A Mouzell for Melastomus. Since Speght's response was printed by a different printer, Nicholas Okes, the suggestion to emend

this passage must have come from an outside source. It seems likely that Thomas Archer is responsible for this correction.<sup>28</sup>

E, which is set from D page by page, appeared in 1619 and is the last edition printed by Thomas Snodham. The woodcut used for D is also used for E, and the title-page of E is set exactly from D. The Epistles are printed in italic, the text in roman. E contains more misprints than C or D. In this edition, too, a few verbal changes occur which are incorporated in subsequent editions. The most notable change which occurs in E is the alteration of the original 'the servants care lesse for her profit' (H4<sup>r</sup>) to 'the servants are carelesse for her profit' in E, an alteration due to inadequate spacing in C and D. C and D each print 'the servants carelesse for her profit', which is ungrammatical in the context, and emended by the compositor of E.

F, which was printed by Bernard Alsop in 1622, is set from E page by page. The woodcut on the title-page is the one used on the title-pages of B, D and E. The Epistles are printed in italic, the text is printed in roman. F introduces a few independent emendations in paragraph structure, on B3<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>v</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>, D2<sup>r</sup>, and E3<sup>r</sup>.<sup>29</sup> In this edition, too, Cerberus is called the 'three-headed Dog' (A4<sup>r</sup>), who in the previous editions was 'two-headed', a mistake ridiculed at some length by Constantia Munda in The Worming of a mad Dogge.<sup>30</sup>

G, which came out in 1628, and was printed by Augustine Mathewes, is the last edition of The Araignment of Women to be printed for Thomas Archer, who assigned his rights in the pamphlet over to Francis Grove on 10 September 1628. The woodcut on the title-page of G, although a different woodcut than the two used for the title-pages of the previous editions, again represents the familiar lady dressed in farthingale and ruff. It was used for a number of ballads, as was the case with the other two woodcuts used for the earlier editions. The Epistles are printed in italic, the text is printed in roman. G is set from F page by page. Although all editions have their share of misprints, the number of misprints in G is higher than that of any previous edition. Most verbal changes in this edition are the result of omission, another instance of carelessness. There is one substantial change, introduced in G and continued in subsequent editions, which seems to be the result of decision rather than chance: the substitution of the original 'such a kind Fool was Adam' for the phrase 'such a kind an Animal was Adam' (H1<sup>r</sup>).<sup>31</sup>

Although H is a reprint of A and as such presents a break in the linear descent of the editions of The Araignment of Women,<sup>32</sup> the chronological order

of editions has been preferred in the discussion of the transmission of the text. H was printed in Edinburgh, and so has no impact on the descent of the London editions. It can therefore be discussed as a break in the linear descent of the other editions without upsetting the chronology of the family tree. That John Wreittoun, the printer of the 1629 Edinburgh edition, printed from the first, pseudonymous, edition would appear to have been a matter of chance.

The following list provides a comparison between A, B and H. As all subsequent editions print from B and so on, only B has been included in the comparison (signature references are to the first edition).

|                 | A  | B                                     | H  |
|-----------------|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| A2 <sup>r</sup> | sought for honey,<br>caught the Bee                  | sought for honey, &<br>caught the Bee | sought for honey,<br>caught the Bee                    |
| A2 <sup>r</sup> | but that she was<br>first there herselfe             | but that she was<br>there herselfe    | but that she was there<br>first herselfe               |
| A2 <sup>v</sup> | more wit then men!                                   | more wit then men                     | more wit then men!                                     |
| A3 <sup>r</sup> | Thomas Telltroth                                     | Joseph Swetnam                        | Thomas Tel-trouth                                      |
| A4 <sup>r</sup> | thy friend nameles/<br>to keepe my selfe<br>blameles | thy friend/<br>Joseph Swetnam         | thy friend nameles/<br>to keepe my selfe<br>blamelesse |
| C1 <sup>r</sup> | therefore is not<br>pittied                          | therefore tis not<br>to be pittied    | therefore is not to be<br>pittied                      |
| D1 <sup>r</sup> | <u>Corinthians</u><br>the 1.6.9.                     | <u>1. Corinthians</u><br>the 7.2.     | <u>Cor.</u> 1.6.9.                                     |
| D4 <sup>v</sup> | <u>Sinerrymes</u>                                    | <u>Semiramis</u>                      | <u>Symeramis</u>                                       |

Wreittoun used an octavo format for his edition. The woodcut on the title-page, which was probably suggested by that of A, again represents a lady. The Epistles and the text are printed in roman (as in A). The text of H follows that of A quite closely, although it contains a fair number of misprints, the most remarkable of which results from substituting numbers for words. Men around the age of '25' are advised to 'take a wife of 70. or thereabouts' (D4<sup>r</sup>), whereas the original edition humanely reads 'seaventeen' (G3<sup>v</sup>).

I, which was printed in 1634, is the first extant edition to appear after Archer, the original publisher, had assigned his copy to Francis Grove, who in turn assigned The Araignment of Women to Richard Cotes on 9 November 1633, along with twelve other copies. The imprint of the 1634 edition reads 'Printed at London by T.C. and are to be sold by F. Grove'. The initials T.C. stand for Thomas Cotes, Richard's brother. The two were in partnership together. I has a woodcut on the title-page which was commissioned for The Araignment of Women, probably by Francis Grove, whose initials 'F' and 'G'

are in the top left and right hand corners of the woodcut. The first Epistle is printed in italic, the second Epistle and the text are printed in roman. Although I is reprinted from G, it is not a page by page reprint: the type was re-set from sheets D to I. I incorporates some emendations which show that the compositor (or perhaps more likely the corrector before him) was familiar with the classical context of Swetnam's anecdotes. The instances are the emendations of 'Xerxes' to 'Circe' (B2<sup>v</sup>), of 'Diavera' to 'Deianira' (D3<sup>v</sup>), 'Artymenos' to 'Artemisia' (G4<sup>v</sup>), and of 'the King of Ayra' to 'King Darius' (H1<sup>r</sup>). Two of them, 'Deianira' and 'Artemisia', appear to be normalizations of the spelling of these classical names, but the other two, 'Circe' and 'King Darius' would have been more difficult to recognize, since their names are misrepresented, and the correct names can only be guessed after a recognition of the context of the allusions to Circe and Darius.<sup>33</sup>

I corrects the misprints of G but introduces others. The compositor of I is responsible for the addition of the non-sensical 'she' in 'he findeth content, she sitting smiling in every corner of the house' (H2<sup>r</sup>), a mistake which persists in all subsequent editions. Although it is perhaps arguable that a proof-reader employed by Richard and Thomas Cotes went through a copy of G, and introduced the emendations above, the printing of the text of I is as careless, or careful, as that of the previous editions.

J, again printed by Thomas Cotes, and to be sold by Francis Grove, features the woodcut that was used for the title-page of I, and is otherwise a page by page reprint of its predecessor. The first Epistle is printed in italic, the second Epistle and the text are printed in roman. The text of J follows most of the emendations of I, but also ignores most of the changes (usually prepositions, mostly wrong) introduced in the text of I. The following list shows that J follows G rather than I in these instances:

| G                                     | I                    | J                     |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| A2 <sup>v</sup> but by her            | but with her         | but by her            |
| D1 <sup>r</sup> by marriage with a    | by marriage of a     | by marriage with a    |
| D3 <sup>v</sup> flye a wicked         | flye from a wicked   | flye a wicked         |
| H1 <sup>v</sup> the good and the bad  | good and the bad     | the good and the bad  |
| H1 <sup>v</sup> and yet there is      | and there is         | and yet there is      |
| H3 <sup>r</sup> getteth a good sonne  | getting a good sonne | getteth a good sonne  |
| I3 <sup>v</sup> house out at a window | house out at window  | house out at a window |

It seems that the compositor of J, while incorporating some of the emendations (and some of the errors) of I, also made use of a copy of G to correct the mistakes which occur in the text of I.<sup>34</sup> A comparison of the

sheets of G, I and J shows that these three are different editions: J is not an edition made up of left-over sheets of G and I. J incorrectly substitutes 'Augustine' for 'Augustus' (B3<sup>r</sup>), a mistake which persists in all later editions of The Araignment of Women.

K, the imprint of which simply reads 'Printed at London by Richard Cotes. 1645', is the only still extant edition of The Araignment of Women to appear in the Civil War period. It is a straightforward reprint of J, the only interesting feature being evidence of stop-press correction: on G4<sup>v</sup> 'Valerius Maximus' has been emended to 'Tiberius Gracchus' in the British Library copy (but not in the Bodleian Library copy). Swetnam's mistake in referring to the classical compiler of histories as the protagonist of one of his stories was ridiculed at some length by Constantia Munda, but the mistake was never corrected until this reprint of 1645. Elinor Cotes, Richard Cotes's widow, who took over her husband's printing shop and issued the 1660 reprint of The Araignment of Women, must have worked from a copy of K which had uncorrected sheets, because she again prints 'Valerius Maximus'.

L, printed by Elinor Cotes, appeared in 1660, the year of the Restoration. L features the woodcut used for I, J and K. Like them, also, the first Epistle is printed in italic, while the second Epistle and the text are printed in roman. L is a page by page reprint of K. It is a carelessly printed edition, which features a great number of misprints.<sup>35</sup>

The British Library recently acquired an edition which has been catalogued as an edition of 1667, but which appears to be another copy of L.<sup>36</sup> Sheets B-I of this copy (L2) are in all respects identical to those of L.<sup>37</sup> The title-pages are also identical (the woodcut on the title-page of L2 for example, supposedly used seven years after the 1660 edition, has not deteriorated in the smallest detail), so that L2 is not a case of left-over sheets of L, bound with a new title-page. The imprint on the title-pages of both L and L2 reads: 'London, Printed by E.C.<sup>38</sup> for F. Grove, on Snow-hill, near the Sarazens-head, 166[0]'. The last digit in both imprints is unclear; and could be read as either a '0' or a '7'. It seems unlikely, however, that the imprint reads '1667' rather than '1660', since Francis Grove, who, according to the imprint was to sell copies of The Araignment of Women, died in 1663.<sup>39</sup> Elinor Cotes, had she decided to issue unsold copies of the 1660 edition in 1667 with a new title-page, would probably not have added the name and address of a bookseller who was no longer in business. The 1667 edition therefore appears to be a ghost.

M is the last seventeenth-century edition and was printed for Thomas Passinger by M[ary?]. C[larke?]. It is a page by page reprint of L.<sup>40</sup> The familiar woodcut, first used for the title-page of I, is again used for the title-page of M. The first Epistle is printed in italic, the second Epistle and the text in roman. Although M corrects many misprints which occurred in L, it introduces as many, and is printed equally carelessly.

N, which came out in 1702, is the first eighteenth-century edition, and although printed in a different format (octavo), was reprinted from M. Like all eighteenth-century editions of The Araignment of Women, N abandons the use of the woodcut for the title-page, the only 'eye-catcher' on the title-page being the use of black letter type for the word 'Arraignment'. This edition was printed for B[ridget] Deacon. The printer, as in all other eighteenth-century editions but R, is not advertised in the imprint.

Although the printer of N changed format, the first Epistle is again printed in italic, while the second Epistle and the text, are printed in roman, as was the case in all previous mid- and late seventeenth-century editions. Changes in this edition are largely typographical: the speeches, remarks and punch lines (the latter in the anecdotes and jests) are usually italicized, as are proverbs and maxims.<sup>41</sup> New to this edition is also the addition of the apostrophe -s in the case of -s genitives: 'Cerberus's Three-headed Dog',<sup>42</sup> and 'King's Crown', for example.

N follows M throughout. The only substantive word change (although small in itself) appears to be the substitution of 'cunning catching' for 'cunny catching' (E1<sup>r</sup>), which is probably a conjecture based on unfamiliarity with the originally sixteenth-century word 'coney' [or 'cunny'] catching.<sup>43</sup> This change is incorporated in the subsequent eighteenth-century editions.

The next edition, O, again printed for B. Deacon, came out in 1704, and is printed in duodecimo (chapbook) format. All other eighteenth-century editions of The Araignment of Women maintain the duodecimo format. The first epistle is printed in roman, the second epistle is printed in italic, while the text is again printed in roman. O introduces a number of modernisations in the text, which are represented in the following list:

| N   | O  |
|---|--|
| A2 <sup>r</sup> rough of my fury                                | heighth of my fury                             |
| A3 <sup>r</sup> Cucking-stool                                   | Ducking-stool                                  |
| B2 <sup>r</sup> but anon againe with<br>outrage she is so grown | but on a sudden is so turbulent                |
| B3 <sup>v</sup> thou may'st hap                                 | thou may'st chance                             |
| B4 <sup>r</sup> must be continually on<br>the new fashion       | must be continually altered to the<br>new Mode |



|                 |   |                                   |
|-----------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| B4 <sup>r</sup> | her Jewell-box                                      | her Jewels and Patch-box          |
| C2 <sup>v</sup> | new fashion stuffe                                  | newest fashioned Silk             |
| C2 <sup>v</sup> | the finest stammell                                 | the finest sort                   |
| C2 <sup>v</sup> | for a Hat of the newest<br>fashion                  | for a Head of the newest fashion  |
| D4 <sup>v</sup> | a soft-spirited Fool, and<br>a Milk-sop, and Mecock | a soft-spirited Fool, and a Clown |
| E1 <sup>r</sup> | take away their ruffes                              | take away their Jewels            |
| E1 <sup>r</sup> | their coyfes and stomachers                         | their Heads & other Ornaments     |
| E2 <sup>v</sup> | pinch-penny   | Niggard                           |
| E2 <sup>v</sup> | dastard   | Coward                            |
| E2 <sup>v</sup> | lunges  | May-Pole                          |
| E2 <sup>v</sup> | coll thee   | take thee                         |
| I2 <sup>v</sup> | Minions   | Whores                            |

The above modernisations concern the substitution of archaic words, such as 'rough' ('ruff'), for which OED quotes only seventeenth-century instances; or 'pinch-penny', instances of which are also limited to the seventeenth century in OED; 'dastard', which appears to have been used only in a literary context in the eighteenth century; or 'lunges', which is instanced in OED as early as 1611, and as late as 1706, but the last instance is taken from a dictionary, first published in the seventeenth century; or 'coll', which again is used only in a literary context in the example quoted in OED; and 'minions', which, in the sense of 'mistress', or 'paramour', is also confined to the seventeenth century.<sup>44</sup>

This edition also updates certain passages pertaining to fashions. The phrase 'she must likewise have her Jewell-box furnished' is expanded to 'Jewells and Patch-box', which puts the allusion to women's vanity in a modern setting.<sup>45</sup> This is also the case in the phrase 'for a Hat of the newest Fashion', in which the word 'Hat' only is substituted, by 'Head', but the single alteration conveys a change from outdated fashions to a modern, more recognisable context.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, the substitution of 'Jewels' for 'ruffs' in 'take away their ruffes' is an attempt to delete archaisms (the ruff being a fashionable article of dress in the Elizabethan and Jacobean age), as is the substitution of 'Heads & other Ornaments' for 'take away their coyfes and stomachers'.

The text of O introduces another change, maintained in the subsequent editions, which, although it is only a single instance, is perhaps indicative of a change in sensibility on the part of the reviser of the text. The conclusion to the story about the suicides of the fisherman and his wife reads, in all editions up to O, 'Now I doe not commend this death to be godly' (H1<sup>r</sup>), a direct reference to the suicides, and an implicit reference

to the condemnation of suicide by the Church as a desperate act. O, however, replaces this conclusion with the more neutral: 'Now I do not commend this rash Action', and so glosses over the fact of the suicide.

To the 1704 edition is also added the Second Part, advertised on the title-page as 'containing Merry Dialogues, Witty Poems, and Jovial Songs'. The deletion of 'before my second booke come', in the conclusion to the second Epistle: 'And so praying thee to looke to thy feete, that thou run not over thy shooes, and so be past recovery, before my second booke come' is obviously related to the addition of the Second Part. The 1704 edition seems to have been revised with an eye to modernisation of the text (thus perhaps to increase the saleability of an old pamphlet), and the deletion of 'before my second booke come' suggests that the Second Part was not merely tacked on to The Araignment of Women, but was instead planned as an addition to the text.<sup>47</sup>

P, which came out in 1707 and is the last edition to be printed for B. Deacon, is a page by page reprint of O. As in O, the first epistle is printed in roman, the second epistle is printed in italic, and the text again in roman. P follows O quite closely and does not introduce any independent changes.<sup>48</sup>

Q, printed by Thomas Norris, is the only undated edition of The Araignment of Women. It is reprinted from P, however, and like its predecessor, it follows its copy without any major changes. Q follows O and P in printing the first epistle in roman, the second epistle in italic, and the text in roman. Q contains a large number of misprints in the text and is a carelessly printed edition.

R, which is the last eighteenth-century edition and the last trade edition of The Araignment of Women, was printed for a number of booksellers, and is printed from Q without any major alterations. R likewise prints the first epistle in roman, the second epistle in italic, and the text in roman.

The text transmission of The Araignment of Women is straightforward, as the preceding discussion has attempted to demonstrate: each text, with the exception of H, is printed from the preceding edition, and the verbal changes which occur in each edition are mostly incidental. There is no major revision of the text until 1704, when archaic words and passages were deleted and replaced by modern equivalents. O also introduces the Second Part, to be maintained in every subsequent edition. The addition of the Second Part,

together with the modernisation of the original text, would seem to suggest that Bridget Deacon, who published N, O and P, still saw selling potential in The Araignment of Women, although she also seems to have found it necessary to present the text in a new guise, and with the support of a companion text. The other eighteenth-century editions merely imitate O.

S, the nineteenth-century antiquarian reprint of The Araignment of Women, is reprinted from A. Joseph Smeeton, the printer of S, seems to have printed from a copy similar to the Folger copy of A (A1), rather than the Bodleian copy (A2). The lay-out of the title-page of S follows that of the title-page of A1. The top of leaf E1<sup>v</sup> of A1 has bled, making the first five lines partly illegible. The Bodleian Library copy does not have this defect. The lines read, in A2: 'But alas fond foole, wilt thou more regard their babble / then thine owne blisse, or esteeme more their frumps, / then thine owne welfare? dost thou not knowe that wo- / men alwaies strive against wisdome, although many times / it be to their utter overthrow?'. The first two lines especially are affected in E1<sup>v</sup> of the Folger copy. S here prints: 'But alas fond foole, wilt thou have her curtesie rather then thine owne blisse, or esteeme her company more then thine owne welfare? dost thou not knowe that where men alwaies strive against wisdome and truth, many times it be to their utter overthrow?'.<sup>49</sup>

No other passage in the text has been changed,<sup>49</sup> and there does not seem to be any other reason for the printer of S to have changed his text other than on the demonstrable grounds of the illegibility of his copytext.

## 6.5 A Note on the Text

The text of this edition is based on George Purslowe's reprint (B) of the first edition (A) of The Araignment of Women. Both were published in 1615.

Katherine U. Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, eds., have provided an abridged and modernised edition of The Araignment of Women in Half Humankind, their anthology of sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century texts on women.<sup>50</sup> For this edition the punctuation and the spelling of the copytext have been preserved (except for the standardisation of initial 'v' to 'u', initial 'i' to 'j' and medial 'u' to 'v'. The compositor of B consistently used initial 'i', 'v', and medial 'u'). Since the spelling of the copytext does not present any difficulties after a first acquaintance, the text has not been modernised. Neither should the early seventeenth-century punctuation

pattern as reflected in copytext B pose any problems to the reader. The text of B has been reproduced integrally. The decision not to reproduce a 'best text', collated from all extant editions of The Araignment of Women, was made with a view to presenting the text as it was available to the respondents in the controversy, which ensued in 1617. Their comments on relevant passages in The Araignment of Women (reproduced in the commentary to the text), particularly where they are ridiculing the grammatical inconsistencies and the general ignorance of Swetnam, would be less intelligible if a 'best text' had been produced. The relevant textual changes in the subsequent editions have been noted in footnotes at the foot of each page of the text.

Misprints have been silently emended,<sup>51</sup> and contractions have been expanded. Italics in the text have been underlined, except for the preliminaries, which are printed entirely in italic in the original. Capitals in the text have been maintained. Catchwords are listed at the end of each page. Long 's' has been changed to roman 's'. Ligatures have not been indicated. Ornamental initials, ornamental head-pieces and tail-pieces have been ignored.

This edition is a page-by-page reprint of the copytext, both for a practical purpose, to accommodate the textual notes at the foot of each page, and to present the text in its original seventeenth-century make-up.

- 5        **M** using with my selfe being idle, and having  
little ease to pass the time withall; and I be-  
ing in a great choller against some women, I  
mean more then one; And so in the ruffe<sup>a</sup> of  
my fury, taking<sup>b</sup> my pen in hand to beguile  
the time withall; indeed I might haue im-  
10 ployed my selfe to better use, then in such an idle busines, and  
better it were<sup>c</sup> to pocket up a pelting injury, then to intangle  
my selfe with such vermine: for this I know, that because wo-  
men are women, therefore many of them will doe that in an  
15 howre, which they many times will repent all their whole life  
time after; yet for any injury which I haue receyved of them, the  
more I consider of it, the lesse I esteem of the same. Yet perhaps  
some may say unto me, that I have sought for honey, & caught  
the Bee by the tayle, or that I have bin bit or stung with some of  
these waspes, otherwise I could never have beene expert in be-  
20 wraying their qualities, for the mother would never have  
sought her daughter in the Oven, but that shee was there her  
selfe. Indeed I must<sup>d</sup> confesse, I have been a traveller this thirty  
& odde yeeres, and many travellers live in disdaine of women;  
the reason is, for that their affections are so poysoned with the  
25 haynous evils of unconstant women, which they happen to bee  
acquainted with in their travels: for it doth so cloy their<sup>e</sup> sto-  
macks,

A 2

- a. IJK: rough; L: wrough; MNO: rough; PQRS: heighth.  
b. RS: I took.  
c. CDEF: it were better; G: bitter; IJKLMNOPQRS: it were better.  
d. FGIJKLMNOPQRS: might.  
e. QRS: the.

macks, that they censure hardly of women ever afterwards:  
 wronged men will not be tongue-tyed: therefore if you doe ill,  
 you must not thinke to heare well; for although the world bee  
 bad, yet it is not come to that passe, that men should beare with  
 5 all the bad conditions that are in some women.

I know I shall bee bitten by many, because I touch many: but  
 before I goe any further, let mee whisper one word in your  
 eares, and that is this; what soeuer you thinke privately, I wish  
 you to conceale it with silence, lest in starting up to find fault,  
 10 you prove your selves guilty of these monstrous accusations,  
 which are here following against some women: & those which  
 spurne, if they feele themselves touched, prove themselues stark  
 fooles in bewraying their galled backs to the world: for this  
 booke toucheth no sort of women, but such as when they heare  
 15 it, will goe about to reprove<sup>a</sup> it: for although in some part of  
 this booke, I trip at your heeles, yet I will stay you by the hand,  
 so that you shall not fall further then you are willing; although  
 I deale with you after the manner of a shrow, which cannot o-  
 therwise ease her curst heart but by<sup>b</sup> her unhappy tongue: If I  
 20 be too earnest, beare with me a little, for my meaning is not to  
 speake much of those that are good, & I shall speake too little  
 of those that are naught; but yet I will not altogether condemn  
 the bad; but hoping to better the good by the naughty examples  
 of the bad: for there is no woman so good, but hath one idle  
 25 part or other in her which may be amended; for the clearest  
 River that is, hath some durt in the bottome: Jewels are all  
 precious, but yet they are not all of one price, nor all of one ver-  
 tue: gold is not all of one picture, no more are women all of one  
 disposition; women are all necessary evils, and yet not all given  
 30 to wickednesse, and yet many so bad, that in my conceit, if I  
 should speake the worst that I know by some women, I should  
 make

a. RS: prove.

b: I: with; JK: by; LMNOPQRS: with.

make their eares glow that heare mee, and my tongue would blister to report it: but it is<sup>a</sup> a great discredite for a man to be accounted for a scold, for scolding is the maner of shrowes; therefore I had rather answer them with silence which find fault, then strive to win the Cucking-stoole<sup>b</sup> from them. Now me thinks I heare some curious Dames give their rash judgements, & say that I hauing no wit, descant upon women which haue more wit then men. To answere you again, If I belieue you, judge me unkind; but if I speake the truth I shall bee the better believed<sup>c</sup> another time: and if I had wrote never so well, it is impossible to please all, and if neuer so ill, yet I shall please some. Let it bee well or ill, I looke for no prayse for my labor; I am weined from my mothers teat, and therefore never more to bee fed with her pap: wherefore say what you will, for I will follow my own vein in unfolding every pleat, and shewing every wrinckle of a womans disposition, and yet I will not wade so farre ouer the shooes, but that I may returne drie, nor so far in, but that I may easily escape out, and yet for all that, I must confesse my selfe to be in a fault, and that I have offended you beyound satisfaction, for it is hard to giue a sufficient recompense for a slaunder; and yet hereafter, if by no meanes<sup>d</sup> I cannot obtaine your fauour to be one of your Pulpit-men, yet you cannot deny me to be one of your Parish; and therefore if you please but to place me in the body of the Church hereafter, you shall find my devotion so great towards you, as he that kneeleth at the Chancel dore: for I wrote this booke with my hand, but not with my heart.

Indeed, when I first began to write this booke, my wits were gone a wool-gathering, in so much<sup>e</sup> that in a manner forgetting<sup>f</sup> my selfe, and so in the rough<sup>g</sup> of my fury, I vowed for euer to be an open enemy unto women; but when my fury was a little past,

A 3

a. IJKLMNOPQRS: that it is.

b. PQRS: ducking.

c. LMNOPQ: beloved; RS: believed.

d. EFGIJKLMNOPQRS: if by means.

e. NOPQRS: so that.

f. FGIJKLMNOPQRS: I forgot.

g. G: ruffe; IJKLMNOPO: rough; PQRS: heighth.

## The Epistle

past, I began to consider the blasphemy of this infamous booke  
against your sects;<sup>a</sup> I then tooke my pen, and cut him in twenty  
peeeces, and had it not been for hurting my selfe, I would  
haue cut my own fingers which held my pen: and furthermore  
5 for a penance, I do crave that my selfe may be a Judge against  
my selfe; but yet assure your selves, of all evils I will choose the  
least; wherefore I choose rather to beare a fagot, then burn by  
the fagot; you may perceyve the wind is changed<sup>b</sup> into another  
dore, and that I begin<sup>c</sup> to be sea-sicke, and yet not past halfe a  
10 mile on the salt water, and that my mouth hath uttered that  
in my fury, which my heart neuer thought, and therefore I  
confesse that my tongue hath gone beyond my wits; for I do sur-  
mise, that the sauce which I haue made, is too sharpe for your  
dyet, and the flowers which I have gathered, are too strong for  
15 your noses: but if I had brought little dogs from Iceland, or  
fine glasses from Venice, then I am sure that you would either  
haue wooed me to haue them, or wished to see them. But I  
will here conclude this first Epistle, praying you with pati-  
ence to heare the rest: for if I offend you at the first, I will  
20 make you amends at the last: and so I leave you to him,  
whose seate is in Heaven, and whose footestoolle is the  
Earth.

Yours in the way of Honesty,

Joseph Swetnam.

Reade

a. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: Sex.

b: CDEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: turned.

c: CDEFG: begin; I: began; JK: beginne; LMNOPQRS: began.



Reade it, if you please, and like as you list:<sup>a</sup> neyther to the wisest Clarke, nor yet to the starkest Foole, but unto the ordinary sort of giddy-headed young men, I send this greeting.

5 I f you meane<sup>b</sup> to see the Beare-bayting of women, then trudge<sup>c</sup> to this Beare-garden apace, and get in betimes, and view every roome where thou mayest best sit, for thy<sup>d</sup> owne pleasure, profite, and hearts ease, & beare with my rudenes, if I chance to offend thee. But before I doe<sup>e</sup> open this trunke full of  
10 torments against women, I thinke it were not amisse to resemble those which in old time did sacrifices to Hercules; for they used continually first to whip all their dogges out of their City; and<sup>f</sup> I thinke it were not amisse to drive all the women out of my hearing, for doubt, lest this little sparke kindle into  
15 such a flame, and rayse so many stinging<sup>g</sup> Hornets humming about my eares, that all the wit I have will not quench the one, nor quiet the other: for I feare me that I have set downe more then they will like of, and yet a great deale lesse then they deserve: and for better prooffe, I refer my selfe to the judgment  
20 of men, which haue more experience then my selfe; for I esteem little of the malice of women, for men will be perswaded with reason, but women must be answered with silence; for I know women will barke more at me, then Cerberus the two-headed<sup>h</sup> dog did at Hercules, when he came into Hell to fetch out the  
25 fayre Proserpina: and yet I charge them now but with a bulrush, in respect of a second booke, which is almost ready: I doe now but fret<sup>i</sup> them with a false fire, but my next charge shal be with weapons, and my larum with powder and shot: for then wee will goe upon these venomous Adders, Serpents and  
Snakes,

a. FGIJKLMNOPQRS: like it as you list.

b. EFGIJKLMNO: thou meane; PQRS: if you desire.

c. PQ: come to this; RS: come to the.

d. FGIJKLMN: thine; OPQRS: thy.

e. IJKLMNOPQRS: I open.

f. EFGIJKLMNOPQRS: and so.

g. RS: stinking.

h. F: the three-headed; GIJKLMNOPQRS: three-headed.

i. DEFGIJKLMNOP: fear; QRS: scare.

Snakes, and tread and trample them under our feet; for I have known many stung with some of these Scorpions, and therefore I warne all men to beware the Scorpion. I knowe women will bite the lip at mee and censure hardly<sup>a</sup> of mee, but  
 5 I feare not the curst Cowe, for she commonly hath short horns; let them censure of me what they will, for I meane not to make them my Judges, and if they shoot their spite at me, they may hit themselves, and so I will smile at them, as at the foolish Fly which burneth her selfe in the candle. And so friend<sup>b</sup> Reader,  
 10 if thou hast any discretion at all, thou mayest take a happy example by these most lascivious and crafty, whorish, theevisish, & knavish women, which were the cause of this my<sup>c</sup> idle time spending; and yet I have no warrant to make thee beleieve this which I write to be true, but yet the simple Bee gathereth honey where the venomous Spider doth her poyson. And so I will  
 15 hinder thee no longer from that which insueth. But here I will<sup>d</sup> conclude, lest thou hast cause to say, that my Epistles are longer then my booke, a Booke I hope I may call it<sup>e</sup> without any offence: for the Collyer calls his Horse a Horse, & the Kings great  
 20 Steed is but a Horse.

If thou read but the beginning of a booke, thou canst give no judgement of that which insueth: therefore I say as the Frier, who in the midst of his Sermon said often, that the best was behind: And so, if thou reade it all over, thou shalt not be deluded, for the best is behind. I thinke I have shot so neere the white that some will account me for a good Archer: And so praying thee to looke to thy footing,<sup>f</sup> that thou not run over thy shoes, and so be past recovery before my second booke come.<sup>g</sup>

Thy friend,

J O S E P H S V V E T N A M.

- a. LMNOPQRS: hard.
- b. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: friendly.
- c. NOPQRS: this idle.
- d. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: this line omitted.
- e. CDEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: I may call it I hope.
- f. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: feete.
- g. PQRS: 'before my second booke come' omitted.

This first Chapter<sup>a</sup> sheweth to what use Women were made, it  
also sheweth<sup>b</sup> that most of them degenerate from the use  
they were framed unto, by leading a proud, lazy, and  
idle life, to the great hinderance of their poore Husbands.

5

M

10

15 that their froward nature sheweth; for a ribbe is a crooked  
 thing, good for nothing else, and women are crooked by  
 nature: for small<sup>c</sup> occasion will cause them to be angry.

Againe, in a manner, shee was no sooner made, but  
 straightway her mind was set upon mischief, for by her  
 20 aspiring minde and wanton will, shee quickly procured  
 mans fall, and therefore ever since they are and have beene  
 a woe unto man, and follow the line of their first leader.

For I pray you let us consider the times past, with the  
 time present; first, that of David and Salomon, if they had  
 25 occasion so many hundred yeares agoe to exclaime so

B

bitterly

a. NOPQRS: 'This first chapter' omitted.

b. NOPQRS: 'It also sheweth' omitted, 'and' substituted.

c. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'a' added.

- bitterly against women, for the<sup>a</sup> one of them said, that it was better to be a doore-keeper, and better dwel in a den amongst Lyons, then to be in the house with a froward and wicked woman: and the other said, that the climbing  
 5 up of a sandy hill to an aged man was nothing so wearisome, as to be troubled with a froward woman: and further he saith, that the malice of a beast is not like the malice of a wicked woman nor that there is nothing<sup>b</sup> more dangerous then a woman in her fury.
- 10 The Lion being bitten with<sup>c</sup> hunger, the Beare being robbed of her young ones, the Viper being trod on, all these are nothing so terrible as the fury of a woman. A Bucke may be inclosed in a Parke, a bridle rules a horse, a Woolfe may be tied, a Tyger may be tamed: but a froward  
 15 woman will never be tamed, no spur will make her goe, nor no bridle will hold her backe; for if a woman hold an opinion, no man can draw her from it: tell her of her fault, she will not beleewe that she is in any fault: give her good counsell, but she will not take it; if you doe but  
 20 looke after another woman, then she will be jealous, the more thou lovest her, the more she will disdain thee; and if thou threaten her, then she will be angry; flatter her, and then she will be proud; and if thou forbear her, it maketh her bold, and if thou chasten her, then she will turn  
 25 to a Serpent; at a word, a woman will never forget an injury, nor give thanks for a good turne: what wise man then will exchange<sup>d</sup> gould for drosse, pleasure for paine, a quiet life, for wrangling brawles, from the which the married men are never free?
- 30 Salomon saith, that women are like unto wine, for that they will make men drunke with their devices.

Againe,

- a. LM: 'the' omitted.  
 b. FGLJKLMNOPQRS: anything.  
 c: G: hath.  
 d. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: change.

Againe, in their love a woman is compared to a pommis-stone, for which way soever you turne a pommis stone, it is full of holes; even so are womens hearts, for if love steale in at one hole, it steppeth out at another.

- 5 They are also compared unto a painted ship, which seemeth faire outwardly, & yet nothing but ballace within her; or as the Idolls<sup>a</sup> in Spaine, which are bravely gilt outwardly, and yet nothing but lead within them; or like unto the Sea, which at some times is so calm, that a cock-  
10 bote may safely endure her might, but anon againe with outrage she is so growne,<sup>b</sup> that it overwhelmeth the tallest ship that is.

- A froward woman is compared to the wind, and a still woman unto the Sunne: for the Sunne and the wind met  
15 a traveller upon the way, and they laid a wager, which of them should get his cloake from him first; then first the wind began boisterously to blow, but the more the wind did blow, the more the traveller wrapped and gathered his cloake about him; now when the wind had done what  
20 he could, and was never the neerer, then began the Sun gently to shine upon him, and he threw off, not onely his cloake, but also his hat and jerkin: this morall sheweth, that a woman with high words can get nothing at the hands of her husband, never by froward meanes, but by  
25 gentle and faire meanes she may get his heart-bloud to doe her good.

- As women are compared unto many things, even so many, and many more troubles commeth<sup>c</sup> galloping after the heeles of a woman, that young men beforehand doe  
30 not thinke of; for the world is not all made of ote-meale, nor all is not gold that glistereth, nor the way to Heaven

B 2

is

a. DEFGIJKLMNO: to the Idolls; PQRS: to Idols.

b. PQRS: but on a sudden is so turbulent.

c. NOPQRS: come.

is not strewed with rushes, no more is the cradle of ease  
 in a womans lappe. If thou wert a Servant or in bondage  
 before, yet when thou doest marry, thy toile is never the  
 neerer ended, for even then and not before, thou doest  
 5 change thy golden time for a drop of hony, which presently afterwards turneth to be as bitter as wormwood.

Yet there are many young men which cudgell their  
 wits, and beate their braines, and spend all their time in  
 the love of women, and if they get a smile or but a favour  
 10 at their Loves hand, they straight-way are so ravished  
 with joy, yea so much, that they thinke they have gotten  
 God by the hand, but within a while after they will finde  
 that they have but the Devill by the foot. A man may generally  
 speake of women, that for the most part thou shalt  
 15 find them dissembling in their deeds, and in all their<sup>a</sup> actions  
 subtil and dangerous for men to deale withall: for  
 their faces are lures, their beauties are baytes, their looks  
 are netts, and their wordes charmes, and all to bring men  
 to ruine.

20 There is an old saying goeth<sup>b</sup> thus, that he which hath a  
 faire wife and a white horse, shall never be without troubles;  
 for a woman that hath a faire face; it is ever matched  
 with a cruell heart, and her heavenly lookes with hellish  
 thoughts; their modest countenance with mercilesse  
 25 mindes; for women can both smooth and sooth: they are  
 so cunning in the<sup>c</sup> art of flattery, as if they had bin bound  
 prentice to the trade, they have Sirens songs to allure  
 thee, and Xerxes<sup>d</sup> cunning to inchaunt thee: they beare two  
 tongues in one mouth like Judas, and two hearts in one  
 30 brest like Magus, the one full of smiles, and the other full  
 frownes, and all to deceive the simple and plain meaning

a. LM: the.

b. JKLMNOPQRS: going.

c. IJKLMNO: their.

d. IJKLMNOPQRS: Circes

ning men, they can with the Satyre out of one<sup>a</sup> mouth  
blow both hot and colde.

And what of all this? why nothing, but to tell thee that  
a woman is better lost then found, better forsaken then  
5 taken. Saint Paul saith, that they which marry, doe well,  
but he also saith, that they which marry not, doe better:  
and he no doubt was well advised what he spake. Then, if  
thou be wise, keepe thy head out of the halter, and take  
heed before thou have cause to curse thy hard penny-  
10 worth, or wish the Priest speechlesse which knit the knot.

The Philosophers which lived in the olde time, their  
opinions were so hard of marriage, that they never de-  
lighted therein, for one of them being asked why hee  
married not? he answered, that it was too soone; and af-  
15 terwards when he was old, he was asked the same questi-  
on; and he said then that it was too late: and further he  
said, that a married man hath but two good daies to bee  
looked for, that was,<sup>b</sup> the marriage day, and the day of his  
wives death: for a woman will feed thee with hony, and  
20 poyson thee with gall. Diogenes was so dogged, that hee  
abhorred all women, and Augustus<sup>c</sup> wished, that he had li-  
ved wifelesse, and died childlesse.

On a time one asked Socrates, whether he were better  
to marry, or to live single? and he made answere; which  
25 soever thou doest, it will repent thee: for if thou marriest  
not, then thou wilt live discontented, and dye without  
issue, and so perhaps a stranger shall possesse thy goods:  
and if<sup>d</sup> thou doest marry, thou shalt have continuall vexa-  
tions, her dowry will be often cast in thy dish, if she doe  
30 bring wealth with her: againe, if she complaine, then her  
kinsfolke will bend the brows, and her mother will speake

B 3

her

a. LM: the.

b. FG IJKLMN O P Q R S: is.

c. JK L M N O: Augustine; P Q: S. Austin; R S: St. Austin.

d. LM: 'if' omitted.

her pleasure by thee: and if thou marriest onely for faire  
 lookes, yet thou maiest hap<sup>a</sup> to goe without them, when  
 thou lookest for them: and if thou marriest one that is  
 fruitfull in bearing of children, then will thy care be the  
 5 more increased; for little doth the father know what shall  
 be the end of his children: and if shee be barren, thou wilt  
 loath her; and if honest, thou wilt feare her death; and if  
 dishonest, thou wilt be weary of thy life: for when thou  
 hast her, thou must support her in a ll her bad actions, and  
 10 that will be such a perpetuall burden unto thee, that thou  
 hadst even as good draw water continually, to fill a bot-  
 tomlesse tubbe.

A Gentleman on a time said to his friend, I can helpe  
 you to a good marriage for your sonne: his friend made  
 15 him this answer: My sonne (said he) shall stay till hee have  
 more wit; the Gentleman replied againe: saying, If you  
 marry him not before hee hath wit, hee will never marry  
 so long as he liveth.

For a married man is like unto one arrested, and I think  
 20 that many a man would flie up into Heaven, if this arrest  
 of marriage kept them not backe.<sup>b</sup> It is said of one named  
Domettas that hee buried three wives, and yet never wet  
 one handkercher, no nor shed so much as one teare;  
 also Ulisses, he had a Dog which loved him well, and when  
 25 that Dog died, he wept bitterly, but hee never shed one  
 teare when his Wife died: wherefore if thou marriest  
 without respect, but onely for bare love, then thou wilt  
 afterwards with sorrow say, that there is more belongs  
 to house-keeping then foure bare legges in a bed. A man  
 30 cannot live with his hands in his bosome, nor buy meate  
 in the market for honesty without money: where there  
 is

a. PQRS: chance.

b. FGJIKLMNOPQRS: this sentence included in the previous paragraph.



is nothing but bare walls, it is a fit house to breed beg-  
 gers into the world: yet<sup>a</sup> there are many which thinke  
 when they are married, that they may live by love: but if  
 wealth be wanting, hot love will soone be cold, and your  
 5 hot desires will be soone quenched with the smoke of  
 poverty. To what end then should we live in love, seeing  
 it is a life more to be feared then death? for all thy money  
 wastes in toys, and is spent in banqueting, and al thy  
 time in sighes and sobbes, to thinke upon thy trouble and  
 10 charge which commonly commeth with a wife: for com-  
 monly women are proud without profit, and that is a  
 good purgation for thy purse; and when thy purse is light,  
 then will thy heart be heavie.

The pride of a woman is like the dropsie; for as drinke  
 15 increaseth the drouth of the one, even so money enlar-  
 geth the pride of the other: thy purse must be alwaie open  
 to feed their<sup>b</sup> fancy, and so thy expences will be great, and  
 yet perhaps thy gettings small: thy house must be stored  
 with costly stuffe, and yet perhaps thy Servants starved  
 20 for lacke of meat: thou must discharge the Mercers book,  
 and pay the Haberdashers man: for her Hat must conti-  
 nually be of<sup>c</sup> the new fashion, & her Cowne of finer wool  
 then the sheepe beareth any: she must likewise have her  
 Jewell-box<sup>d</sup> furnished, especially if she be beautifull; for  
 25 then commonly beauty and pride goeth together, and  
 a beautifull woman is for the most part costly, and no  
 good huswife; and if she be a good huswife, then no ser-  
 vant will abide her fierce cruelty; and if shee be honest  
 and chaste, then commonly she is jealous: a Kings crowne  
 30 and a faire woman is desired of many.<sup>e</sup>

But he that getteth either of them, liveth in great trou-  
 bles

a. IJKLMNOPQRS: yea.

b. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: her.

c. G: must be continually on; I: of; JKLMNO: on; PQRS: must be  
 continually altered to the new Mode.

d. PQRS: Jewels and Patch-Box.

e. FGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'A Kings crowne...of many' added to the  
 following paragraph.

bles and hazard of his life: he that getteth a faire woman  
 is like unto a Prisoner loaden with fetters of golde: for  
 thou shalt not so oft kisse the sweet lippes of thy beauti-  
 full wife, as thou shalt bee driven to fetch bitter sighes  
 5 from thy sorrowful heart, in thinking of the charge which  
 cometh by her: for if thou deny her of such toyes as she  
 stands not<sup>a</sup> in neede of, and yet is desirous of them, then  
 she will quickly shut thee out of the doores of her favor,  
 & deny thee her person, and shew her selfe as it were at a  
 10 window playing upon thee, not with small shot, but with  
 a cruell tongue shee will ring thee such a peale, that one  
 would thinke the Devill were come from Hell, saying,  
 I might have had those which would have maintained  
 me like a woman, whereas now I goe like no-body: but  
 15 I will be maintained if thou wert hanged: with such like  
 words she will vex thee, blubbering forth abundance<sup>b</sup> of  
 dissembling teares (for women doe teach their eies to  
 weepe) for doe but crosse a woman, although it be never  
 so little, shee will straightway put finger in the eye and  
 20 cry: then presently many a foolish man will flatter her and  
 intreat her to be quiet: but that marres all, for the more  
 shee is intreated, shee will powre forth the more aboun-  
 dance of deceitfull teares, and therefore no more to be  
 pittied, then to see a Goose goe barefoote; for they have  
 25 teares at commaund, so have they wordes at will, and  
 oathes at pleasure; for they make as much account of an  
 oath, as a Marchant doth, which will forswear himselfe  
 for the getting of a penny. I never yet knew woman that  
 would deny to sweare in defence of her own honesty, and  
 30 alwaies standing highly upon it, although she be ashamed  
 to weare it in winter for catching of colde, nor in sum-  
 mer

a. OPQRS: 'not' omitted.

b. RS: abundant.

mer for heat, fearing lest it may melt away.

Many will say, this which I write is true, and yet they cannot beware of the Devill, untill they are plagued with his Dam; the little Lambe skips and leapes till the Fox  
 5 come, but then he quivers and shakes: the Beare daunces at the stake, till the Dogges be upon his backe: and some men never feare their money, untill they come into the hands of theeves; even so some will never bee warned, and therefore tis not to be pittied if they be harmed: what  
 10 are women, that make thee so greedily to gape after them? Indeed, some their faces are fairer and beautifuler then others, some again stand highly uppon their fine foot and hand, or else all women are alike: Jone is as good as my Lady, according to the Countrey mans Pro-  
 15 verbe, who gave a great summe of money to lye with a Lady, and going homewards, he made a<sup>a</sup> greevous mone for his money, and one being on the other side the hedge heard him say, that his Jone at home was as good as the Lady. But whether this bee true or no, my selfe I doe not  
 20 know, but you have it as I heard it.

If thou marriest a woman of evill report, her discredite will be a spotte in thy brow, thou canst not goe in the street with her without mocks, nor amongst thy neighbours without frumps, and commonly the fairest women  
 25 are soonest intised to yeeld unto vanity: hee that hath a fair wife and a whetstone, everyone will bee whetting theron; and a Castle is hard to keepe when it is assaulted by many, and faire women are commonly caught at: hee that marrieth a faire woman, every one will wish his death  
 30 to enjoy her; and if thou be never so rich, and yet but a Clowne in condition, then will thy faire Wife have<sup>b</sup> her credit  
 C

a. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'a' omitted.

b. NOPQRS: lose.

credit to please her fancy, for a Diamond hath not his  
 grace but in gold, no more hath a faire woman her full  
 commendations but in the ornament of her bravery,  
 by which meanes there are divers women, whose beauty  
 5 hath brought their husbands into great poverty and dis-  
 credit by their pride and whooredome: a faire woman  
 commonly will goe like a Peacocke, and her Husband  
 must goe like a Woodcocke.

That great Giant Pamphimapho, who had Beares wai-  
 10 ting upon him like Dogges, and he could make tame any  
 wild beast, yet a wanton woman hee could never rule nor  
 turne to his will.

Salomon was the wisest Prince that ever was, yet he lust-  
 ed after so many women, that they<sup>a</sup> made him quickly for-  
 15 sake his God which did alwaies guide his steppes, so long  
 as he lived godly.

And was not David the best beloved of God, and a  
 mighty Prince? yet for the love of women he purchased  
 the displeasure of his God. Sampson was the strongest man  
 20 that ever was; for every lock of his head was the strength  
 of another man, yet by a woman he was overcome; hee  
 revealed his strength, and payed his life for that folly.<sup>b</sup>  
 Did not Jesabel for her wicked lust cause her husbands  
 blood to be given to dogs?<sup>c</sup>

25 Jobs wife gave her husband counsell to blaspheme  
 God and to curse him.

Agamemnons wife for a small injury that her husband  
 did her, she first committed adultery, and afterwards con-  
 sented to his death.

30 Also the wife of Hercules, she gave her husband a poy-  
 soned shirt, which was no sooner on his backe, but did  
 sticke

a. I: 'they' omitted.

b. FG IJ KLMNOPQRS: this sentence indented.

c. FG IJ KLMNOPQRS: this sentence indented.

sticke so fast, that when hee would have plucked it off, it tore the flesh with it.

If thou wilt avoyd these evils, thou must with Ulisses bind thy selfe to the mast of the ship, as hee did, or else it  
5 would have cost him his life; for otherwise the Syrenian women would have intised him into the Sea, if he had not so done.

It is wonderful<sup>a</sup> to see the mad feates of women, for she<sup>b</sup> will now be merry, then againe sad; now laugh, then weep;  
10 now sicke, then presently whole; all things which like not them, are naught: and if it be never so bad, if it like them, it is excellent: againe, it is death for women to bee denied the thing which they demand: and yet they will despise things given them unasked.

15 When a woman wanteth any thing, shee will flatter and speake faire, not much unlike the flattering Butcher, who gently claweth the Oxe, when hee intendeth to knock him on the head: but the thing being once obtained, and their desires gained, then they will begin to look  
20 bigge, and answer so stately, and speake so scornefully, that one would imagine they would never seeke help, nor crave comfort at thy hands any more. But a woman is compared unto<sup>c</sup> a shippe, which being never so well rigged, yet one thing or other is to be amended: even so give  
25 a woman all that she can demaund to day, yet she will be out of reparations to morrow; and want one thing or other.

Women are called night Crowes, for that commonly in the night they will make request for such toyes as  
30 commeth in their heades in the day: for<sup>d</sup> women know their time to worke their craft, for in the night they will

C 2

worke

a. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: strange.

b. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: they.

c. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: to.

d. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'for' omitted.

worke a man like wax, and draw him like as the Adamant doth the Iron, and having once brought him to the bent of their bowe, then she makes request for a Gowne of the new fashion stuffe:<sup>a</sup> or for a Petticote of the finest stammell:<sup>b</sup> or for a Hat<sup>c</sup> of the newest fashion. Her husband  
 5 being overcome by her flattering speech, partly hee yeeldeth to her request, although it be a greefe to him for that he can hardly spare it out of his stocke, yet for quietnesse sake, he doth promise what she demaundeth, partly  
 10 because he would sleepe quietly in his bed: againe every married man knowes this, that a woman will never bee quiet, if her mind be set upon a thing, til she have it.

Now, if thou drive her off with delayes, then her forehead will be so full of frownes, as if shee threatned to  
 15 make clubs trump, and thou never a blacke card in thy hand: for except a woman have what she will, say what she list, and goe where shee please, otherwise thy house will be so<sup>d</sup> full of smoke, that thou canst not stay<sup>e</sup> in it.<sup>f</sup>

It is said, that an olde dog and a hungry flea byte sore;  
 20 but in my minde, a froward woman biteth more sorer; and if thou go about to master a woman, in hope to bring her to humility; there is no way to make her good with stripes, except thou beat her to death: for doe what thou wilt, yet a froward woman in her frantick mood will pull,  
 25 haule, swerve,<sup>g</sup> scratch and teare all that stands in her way.

What wilt thou that I say more, oh thou poore married man? If women doe not feelee the raine, yet heere is a showre comming which will wet them to the skinnies: A woman which is faire in shew, is foule in condition:  
 30 shee is like unto a glow-worme, which is bright in the hedge, and blacke in the hand; in the greenest grasse<sup>h</sup> lyeth hid

a. PQRS: newest Fashioned silk.

b. PQRS: sort.

c. PQRS: Head.

d. O: 'so' omitted.

e. EFGIJKLMNOPQRS: stand.

f. FGIJKLMNOPQRS: this paragraph added to the previous paragraph.

g. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: sweare.

h. E: glasse; FGIJKLM: grasse; NO: glass; PQRS: grass.

hid the greatest Serpents: painted pottes commonly  
hold deadly poyson: and in the cleerest water the ug-  
liest Tode; and the fairest woman hath some filthines in  
her.

- 5 All<sup>a</sup> is not gold that glistereth: a smiling countenance  
is no certaine testimoniall of a merry heart, nor<sup>b</sup> costly  
garments of a rich purse: men doe not commend a  
Judge, for that he weareth a Skarlet gowne, but for his just  
dealing; no more are women to be esteemed of by the  
10 ornament of their bravery, but for their good behaviour;  
yet there is no river so cleere, but there is some durt in the  
bottome: But many a man in this land, we need not goe  
any further for examples, but heere we may see many  
fooles in every place snared in womens nets, after a little  
15 familiarity and acquaintance with them: I thinke if they  
were numbred, the number would passe infinite, if it were  
possible, which for the love of wantons have lost their  
voyages at Sea to their great hinderances, and many o-  
ther have never regarded the farre distance which they  
20 have beene from their countrey and friends, untill they  
had consumed their substance, and then being ashamed  
to returne home againe in such bad sort, I meane, by wee-  
ping crosse, and pennillesse bench, many of them rather  
choose to deserve Newgate, and so come to Tiburne, far  
25 contrary from the expectation of their friends and Pa-  
rents, which had otherwise provided for them, if they had  
had grace, or would have beene ruled.

C 3

C H A P. I I.

a. FG I J K L M N O P Q R S: no longer a new paragraph.

b. R S: no.

## C H A P. I I

The second Chapter sheweth the manner of such Women as  
live upon evill report:<sup>a</sup> It also sheweth that the beauty of  
Women hath beene the bane of a many a man, for it hath o-  
vercome valiant and strong men, eloquent and subtill  
 5 men. And in a word, it hath overcome all men, as by ex-  
amples following shall appeare.

10 **F**irst, that of Salomon, unto whom God  
 gave singular wit and wisdom, yet hee  
 loved so many women, that he quite for-  
 got his God, which alwaies did guide his  
 steps, so long as he lived godly, and ru-  
 led justly: but after hee had glutted him-  
 selfe with women, then he could say; vanity of vanities, all  
 is but vanity; he also in many places of his booke of Pro-  
 15 verbs exclaimes<sup>b</sup> most bitterly against lewd women, cal-  
 ling them all that naught is, and also displayeth their pro-  
 perties: and yet I cannot let them<sup>c</sup> go blamelesse, although  
 women go shamelesse; but I will touch them both: for if  
 there were not receivers, then there would not be so ma-  
 20 ny stealers: if there were not some<sup>d</sup> knaves, there would  
 not be so many whoores; for they both hold together to  
 bolster each others villany: for alwaies birds of a feather  
 will flocke together hand in hand, to bolster each others  
 villany. Men I say may live without women,<sup>e</sup> but women  
 25 cannot live without men: For Venus whose beauty was ex-  
 cellent faire, yet when she needed mans<sup>f</sup> helpe, she tooke  
Vulcan a club-footed smith. And therefore if a womans  
 face

a. PQRS: 'The second chapter' omitted.

b. NOPQ: exclaimed; RS: exclaiming.

c. DEFGIJKLMNQPORS: men.

d. CDEDFGIJKLMNQPORS: so many.

e. G: woman.

f. DEFGIJKLMNQPORS: a mans.



face glister, and her Jesture pearce the Marble wall, or if  
 her tongue be so smooth as oile, or<sup>a</sup> so soft as silke, and her  
 words so sweet as hony: or if she were a very Ape for wit,  
 or a bagge of gold for wealth: or if her personage have  
 5 stolne away all that nature can affoord, and if<sup>b</sup> she be deckt  
 up in gorgeous apparell, then a thousand to one but shee  
 will love to walke where she may get acquaintance; and  
 acquaintance bringeth familiarity, and familiarity setteth  
 all folies abroach: and twenty to one that if a woman  
 10 love gadding, but that shee will pawne her honesty, to  
 please her fantasie.<sup>c</sup>

Man must be at all the cost, and yet live by the losse; a  
 man must take all the paines, and a woman will spend all  
 the gaines: a man must watch and ward, fight and defend,  
 15 till the ground, labour in the<sup>d</sup> vineyard; and looke what he  
 getteth in seven yeares, a woman will spread it abroad  
 with a forke in one yeare, and yet little enough to serve  
 her turne, but a great deale too little to get her good will:  
 nay, if thou give her never so much, and yet if thy perso-  
 20 nage please not her humour, then will I give not a halfe-  
 penny for her honesty at the yeares end.

For then her brest will be the harbourer of an envious  
 heart, and her heart the storehouse of poysoned hatred,  
 her head will devise villany, and her hands are ready to  
 25 practise that which her heart desireth.<sup>e</sup> Then, who can but  
 say that women sprung from the Devill, whose heads,  
 hands, hearts, minds and soules are evill? for women are  
 called the hooke of all evill, because men are taken by  
 them, as fish is taken with the hooke.

30 For women have a thousand waies to entise thee, and  
 ten thousand waies to deceive thee, and all such fooles  
 as

a. CDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRS: and.

b. FGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'if' omitted.

c. LM: fancy; NO: fantasie; PQRS: fancy.

d. O: 'the' omitted.

e. DEFGHIJKLMNOPQRS: deviseth.

as are sutors unto them: some they keepe in hand with  
 promises, and some they feed with flattery, and some  
 they delay with dalliances, and some they please with  
 kisses: they lay out the foldes of their haire, to entangle  
 5 men into their love; betwixt their breasts is the vale of  
 destruction, and in their beds there is hell, sorrow & repen-  
 tance. Eagles eat not men till they are dead, but women  
 devoure them alive: for a woman will pick thy pocket, and  
 empty thy purse, laugh in thy face and cut thy throat:  
 10 they are ungratefull, perjured, full of fraud, flouting and  
 deceit, unconstant, waspish, toyish, light, sullen, proud,  
 discourteous and cruell, and yet they were by<sup>a</sup> God crea-  
 ted, and by nature formed, and therefore by policy and  
 wisdom to bee avoyded; for good things abused,  
 15 are to be refused, or else for a moneths pleasure shee may  
 hap to make thee goe stark naked, she will give thee rost-  
 meat, but she will beat thee with the spitte: if thou hast  
 crownes in thy purse, shee will be thy hearts gold, untill  
 shee leave thee not a whit of white money: they are like  
 20 summer birdes, for they will abide no s torme, but flock a-  
 bout thee in the pride of thy glory, and flye from thee in  
 the storms of affliction; for they aime more at thy wealth,  
 then at thy person, and esteeme more thy money, then a-  
 ny mans vertuous qualities for they esteeme of a man  
 25 without money, as a horse doth of a faire stable without  
 meate, they are like the Eagles, which will alwaies flie where  
 the carrion is.

They<sup>b</sup> will play the horse-leach to suck away thy wealth,  
 but in the winter of thy misery shee will flie away from  
 30 thee. Not unlike the Swallow, which in the summer har-  
 boureth her selfe under the eaves of an house, and against  
 winter

a. I: of.

b. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: shee.

winter flieth away, leaving nothing but dirt behind her.

Salomon saith, that he will suffer himselfe to be led away, or take delight in such womens company, is like a foole which rejoyceth when he is led to the stocks, Pro. 7.

- 5 Hosea, by marriage with<sup>a</sup> a leaud woman of light behaviour, was brought unto<sup>b</sup> idolatry. Hosea I. Saint Paul<sup>c</sup> accounteth fornicators so odious that wee ought not to eat meat with them; hee also sheweth that fornicators shall not inherit the kingdome of Heaven, I.Corin. the 9. and  
10 11. verse.<sup>d</sup>

And in the same chapter Saint Paul excommunicateth fornicators, but upon amendment hee receiveth<sup>e</sup> them againe. Whoredome punished with death, Deuteronomy 22.21 and Genesis 38.24. Phinehas a Priest thrust two adulterers, both the man and the woman, thorow the belly with a speare, Numbers 25.

God detesteth the money or goods gotten by whoredome, Deuteronomy 23.17.18. Whores called by diverse names, and the properties of whores, Proverbs 7.6  
20 and 2. A whore envieth an honest woman, Esdras 16. and 42.<sup>f</sup> Whoremongers God will judge, Hebrews 13. and 42.<sup>g</sup> They shall have their portions with the wicked in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, Revelation the 21.8.<sup>h</sup>

Onely for the sinne of whoredome God was sorry at  
25 the heart, and repented that ever hee made man, Genesis 6.6.7.<sup>i</sup>

Saint Paul saith, to avoid fornication, every man may take a wife. I.Corinthians the 7.2.

Therefore hee which hath a wife of his owne, and yet  
30 goeth to another woman, is like a rich theefe, which will steale when he hath no need.

D

There

a. I: of.

b. CDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRS: into.

c. CDEFGHIJKLMNOPQ: S. Paul; RS: ST. Paul.

d. J: 1. Corinthians the 6. chap. and 11. verse; KLMNO: 1. Corinth the 6 chap. and 11. verse; PQRS: 1 Cor. 6.11.

e. I: received.

f. FGIJKLMNO: Esdras 19. and 42.; QRS: Esdras 9. and 42.

g. CD: Hebrewes 13. and 42; EFGI: Heb. 13. and 42.; J: Hebr. 13. and 4.; K: Heb. 13. and 42.; LMNOPQRS: Heb. 13. and 4.

h: FGIJ: Revel. 21.8; K: Rev. 21.8; LMNOP: Revel. 21.8; QRS: Rev. 21.8.

i. FGI: Genesis 6.6.7.; JKLMN: Genesis 6.6,7; OPQRS: Gen. 6.6,7.

There are three waies to know a whore: by her wanton lookes, by her speech, and by her gate, Ecclesiasticus 26. and in the same chapter he saith, that we must not give our strength unto harlots; for whores are the evill of all evils, and the vanity of all vanities, they weaken the strength of a man, and deprive the body of his beauty; it furroweth his<sup>a</sup> browes, and maketh the eyes dimme; and a whorish woman causeth the feaver and the gout: and at a word, they are a great shortning to a mans life.

For although they seeme to be so dainty as sweet meat, yet in triall not so wholesome as sowre sauce: they have wit, but it is all in craft; if they love, it is vehement; but if they hate, it is deadly.

Plato saith, that women are either Angels or Devils, and that they either love dearely, or hate bitterly; for a woman hath no meane in her love, nor mercy in her hate; no pittie in revenge, nor patience in her anger; therefore it is said, that there is nothing in the world which both pleaseth and displeaseth a man more then a woman; for a woman most delighteth a man, and yet most deceiveth him; for as there is nothing more sweet unto a man then a woman when shee smileth: even so there is nothing more odious then the angry countenance of a woman.

Salomon in his 20. of Ecclesiastes saith, that an angry woman will fume at the mouth like a Bore: if all this be true as most true it is, why shouldest thou spend one houre in the praise of women, as some fooles doe? for some will brag of the beauty of such a maid; another will vaunt of the bravery of such a woman, that shee goeth beyond all the women in the parish: againe, some study their fine wits

a. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: the.

wits, how they may cunningly sooth women, and with Logicke how to reason with them, and with eloquence to perswade them; they are alwaies tempering<sup>a</sup> their wits, as Fiddlers do their strings, who wrest them so high, that many times they stretch them beyond time, tune, and reason.<sup>b</sup>

Againe, there are many that weary themselves with dallying, playing and sporting with women, and yet they are never satisfied with the unsatiable desire of them; if with a song thou wouldest be brought asleepe, or with a dance be led to delight, then a fayre woman is fit for thy dyet: if thy head be in her lap, she will make thee beleieve that thou art hard by Gods seat, when indeed thou art just at hell gate.

Theodora a monstrous strumpet, on a time made her brags to Socrates of the great hant of lusty Gallants which came to her house, and furthermore she told him, that she could get away more of his Schollers from him, then he could of hers from her.

No marvaile (quoth Socrates) for thy waies seeme pleasant and easie, and that is the way youth loves to walk in; but the way that leadeth to a vertuous life, seemeth full of brambles and bryers: and to match with this, there is an history that makes mention of three notable Curtizanes, whose names were Lavia,<sup>c</sup> Flora, and Layes: Lavia and Layes were homo, common<sup>d</sup> to all men, they would play at small game,<sup>e</sup> rather then sit out; these three Strumpets during their life time, were the beautifullest and richest of that trade in the world, and had three severall gifts where- by they allured their Lovers to seeke their favours.

The Engine wherewith Lavia entrapped her Lovers,  
D 2 proceeded

a. O: tampering; PQR: tempering; S: tampering.

b. IJKLMNOPQRS: season.

c. LMNOPQRS: Lamia.

d. D: comming.

e. NOPQRS: gain.

proceeded from her eyes; for by her smiling countenance, and wanton lookes, shee greatly inflamed all that beheld her. And Flora wan her Lovers by her excellent wit and eloquent tongue. And Layes enticed her Lovers by her  
 5 sweet singing and pleasant fingering of Instruments of musicke.

But now againe to Lavia, King Demetrius gave but a glaunce of his eies suddenly upon her, and was taken presently with her net, and spent eleven talents of silver upon her, which he had provided and appointed to pay his  
 10 soldiours; and furthermore, hee quite forsooke his owne wife, and never left the company of this Strumpet, untill death tooke her from him; and after shee was dead, hee  
 15 made great mone for her death; hee also kissed and embraced her, and caused her to be buried under his window; that so often as he did see her grave, hee might bewaile her death.

Layes likewise had a King, whose name was Pirrhus, which was her chiefe friend, but yet hee served but as it  
 20 were for a cloake; for he continued not very long with her in Greece, but went himselfe to the warres in Italy; but in his absence she was not onely sought to, but obtained of many, and set downe her price, that before she would doe her worke, she would have her money.

Now to Flora, shee was a Kings daughter, her parents  
 25 died when she was of the age of fifteene yeares, and shee was left as rich as beautifull, she had the bridle of liberty throwne on her necke, so that shee might runne whither<sup>a</sup> she would; for shee was left without controulment, so  
 30 that sodainly she determined to travell and see the warres of Africa, where she made sale both of her personage and honour.  
 King

a. LM: whether.

King Menelaus was the first that made love to her, as he was marching to the warres of Carthage, and spent more money upon her, then in conquering his enemies.

But as she was of noble race, so it is said, that she never  
 5 gave her selfe over to meane or<sup>a</sup> petty company, as the other two did; but shee had a scroule set over her gate, the tennor whereof was thus, King, Prince, Emperour or Bishop, enter this place<sup>b</sup> and welcome: neither was this Flora so greedy of gold, as the other two were; for on a  
 10 time one of her familiar friends asked her the cause, why shee did not make price of her love? shee made this answer, I commit my body to none but to Princes and Noblemen, and I sweare there was never man gave me so little, but that I had more then I would have asked, or  
 15 that I looked for; and furthermore she said, that a noble woman ought not to make price of her love: all things are at a certaine rate, except Love, and that a woman of great beauty should be so much esteemed of, as she esteemes of her selfe. She died at the age of forty yeares,  
 20 and the wealth shee left behind her in Rome, was valued to be so much as would have builded new<sup>c</sup> walles round about the City, if there had beene no walles at all.

Was not that noble City of Troy sacked and spoyled for the faire Hellena? and when it had cost many mens  
 25 lives, and much bloud was shed, & when they had got the conquest, they got but a harlot: by this and that which followeth, thou shalt see the power of women, how it hath beene so great, and more prevailed in<sup>d</sup> bewitching mens wits and in overcoming their sences, then all other  
 30 things whatsoever. It hath not onely vanquished Kings and Keisars,<sup>e</sup> but it hath also surprised castles & countries,

D 3

nay

a. FGHIJKLMNOPQRS: and.

b. DEFGHIJKLM: pallace; NOPQRS: Place.

c. D: new the walls.

d. LMNOPQRS: in the bewitching.

e. N: Casars; OPQRS: Caesars.

may, what is it that a woman cannot do, which knowes her power?

Therefore stay not alone in the company of a woman, trusting to thy owne chastity, except thou be more stronger then Sampson, more wise then Salomon, or more holy then David; for these and many more have beene overcome by the sweet entisements of women, as thou shalt read heereafter.

It is said, that the Gods themselves did change their shapes, for the love of such women as they lusted after: Jupiter, he transformed himselfe into a Bull, Neptune into a Horse, and Mercury into a Goat.

Aristippus desired sweet meat for his belly, and a faire woman for his bed.

But in my mind, hee that layes his net to catch a faire woman, hee may chance to fall into the sprindge which was laid for a woodcocke: therefore I doe admonish young men, and I advise olde men, and I counsell simple men, and I warne all men, that they flye from<sup>a</sup> a wicked woman, as from the pestilence, or else they will make thee fly in the end.

Aristotle, for keeping company with a queane in Athens, was faine<sup>b</sup> to runne away, to save him selfe from punishment; and yet he had dwelt there, and wrote many books for the space of thirty yeares.

Again of<sup>c</sup> Sampson & Hercules for all their great strength and conquests of Giants and monsters, yet the one yeelded his club at Diaveras<sup>d</sup> foot, and the other revealed his strength to Dalila, and he paid his life for his folly.

The sugred and renowned Orators Demosthenes and Hortensius, the one came from Athens to Corinth, to compound

a. G: 'from' omitted; I: 'from' emended; JKLMNOPQRS: 'from' omitted.

b. I: faint.

c. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'of' omitted.

d. IJKLMN: Deianiras; OPQRS: Dejanira's



compound and agree with Layes a common Strumpet as  
 you heard before of her, and yet hee had but one nights  
 lodging with her. And the other was so farre<sup>a</sup> in love with  
 another bird of the same cage,<sup>b</sup> the which hee could not  
 5 obtaine, nor yet could he conquer his<sup>c</sup> affection, untill hee  
 had quite pined himselfe away, so that in short time hee  
 had wasted himselfe to nothing.

Plato, for all his great Philosophy and knowledge, yet  
 he kept company with Archenasse when she was olde, and  
 10 forsaken of all her Lovers; for she had given her selfe to a  
 number<sup>d</sup> in her youth, yet neverthelesse Plato so loved her,  
 that he wrote many verses in commendation of her.

Also Socrates for all his gravity and wisdom is renowned  
 throughout all the world, yet he most dearly loved  
 15 Aspasy,<sup>e</sup> an<sup>f</sup> old and overworne Strumpet.

Love stayed King Antiochus in Calcidea a whole winter,  
 for one maid that hee fancied there, to his great hinder-  
 rance.

Love stayed King Hannibal in Capua a long season, lay-  
 20 ing all other his necessary affaires aside, the which was no  
 small hinderance to him; for in the meane while his ene-  
 mies invaded a great part of his Countrey.

Likewise Julius Caesar, hee continued in Alexandria a  
 long season, not for the love of one, but hee lusted after  
 25 many, to his great infamy and disgrace.

That great Captain Holofernes, whose sight made ma-  
 ny thousands to quake, yet he lost his life, and was slaine  
 by a woman.

Was not Herods love so great to a woman, that he cau-  
 30 sed John Baptist to lose his head for her sake?

Wherefore to avoid the sight, many times it is the best  
 rasor

a. OPQ: was far in love; RS: was fair in love.

b. G: cadge.

c. FGIJKLMNOPQRS: her.

d. OP: to a many; QRS: to many.

e. CDE: Alpasy; FG: Alphasy; IJK: Alphasie; LM: Alphasia; NOPQRS:  
Alphasie.

f. R: 'an' omitted; S: 'an' emended.

5     rasor, to cut off the occasion of the evill which commeth  
 by women; For had not Holofernes seene the beauty of  
Judeth, and marked the finenesse of her foote, he had not  
 lost his head by her. If Herod had not seen Herodias<sup>a</sup> daugh-  
 10     ter daunce, hee had not so rashly granted her Saint John  
Baptists head. Had not Eve seene the Apple, and also<sup>b</sup> she  
 was tempted with the beauty of the Serpent, who as our  
 Schoole-men do write, that he shewed himselfe like a faire  
 young man; but had not she seene it, I say, shee had not  
 15     eaten thereof, to her owne grieve and many more. By sight  
 the wife of Putiphar was moved to lust after her servant Jo-  
seph. It is said of Semiramis of Babylon, that after her hus-  
 bands death, she waxed so unsatiable in carnall lust, that  
 two men at one time could not satisfie her desire, and  
 20     so by her unsatiableness, at length all Persia grew full of  
 whoores.

And likewise of one Venise<sup>c</sup> a strumpet in Cipris it is sup-  
 posed, that by her fame and ill life, she caused all Cipres at  
 length to be full of queanes.

25     And of one faire Rodape<sup>d</sup> in Egypt, who was the first no-  
 ted woman in that Countrey, but at length all the whole  
 countrey became full of Strumpets.

Is it not strange, that the seed of one man should breed  
 such woe unto all men?

30     One said unto his friend, Come, let us goe see a pretty  
 wench. The other made this answer; I have (said he) sha-  
 ken such fetters from my heeles, and I will never goe  
 where I know I shall repent afterwards: but yet happily  
 some may say unto me, If thou shouldest refuse the com-  
 35     pany or the curtesie of a woman, then shee would ac-  
 count thee a soft-spirited foole, a milk-sop<sup>e</sup> & a meacock.<sup>f</sup>

But

a. O: Herodius.

b. G I J K L M N O P Q R S: and so.

c. I: Venus; J K: Venise; L M N O P Q R S: Venus.

d. I J: Rodope; K L M N: Rhodope; O P Q R S: Rhodophe.

e. P Q R S: 'a milksop' omitted.

f. P Q R S: clown.

But alas fond foole, wilt thou more regard their babble,  
 then thine owne blisse, or esteeme more their frumps,  
 then thine owne welfare? dost thou not know that wo-  
 men alwaies strive against wisdom, although many  
 5 times it be to their utter overthrow? Like the Bee which  
 is often hurt with hr owne hony: even so women are  
 often plagued with their owne conceit, waying<sup>a</sup> downe  
 love with discourtesie, giving him a weed, which presents  
 them with flowers: as their catching in jest, and their  
 10 keeping in earnest, and yet she thinks that she keepes her  
 selfe blamelesse, and in all ill vices she would goe name-  
 lesse, but if shee carry it never so cleane, yet in the end  
 shee will be counted but for a cunny-catching<sup>b</sup> queane;  
 and yet she will sweare that she will thrive; as long as shee  
 15 can finde one man alive: for shee thinks to doe all her  
 knavery invisible; shee will have a figge leafe to cover her  
 shame: but when the fig leafe is dry and withered, it doth  
 shew their nakednesse to the world: for take away their  
 painted cloathes, and then they looke like ragged wals:  
 20 take away their ruffes,<sup>c</sup> and<sup>d</sup> they looke ruggedly: their  
 coyfes and stomachers,<sup>e</sup> and they are simple to behold:  
 their<sup>f</sup> haire untrust, and<sup>g</sup> they looke wildly; and yet there  
 are many which laies their nets to catch a pretty wo-  
 man, but hee which getteth such a prize, gaines nothing  
 25 by his adventure, but shame to the body, and danger to  
 the soule; for the heat of the young bloud of these wan-  
 tons, leads many unto destruction for this worlds plea-  
 sure. It chaunts<sup>h</sup> your minds, and infeebleth your bo-  
 dies with diseases, it also scandalleth your good names,  
 30 but most of all, it indangereth your soules; how can it o-  
 therwise choose, when lust and uncleannesse continually  
 E keepe

a. CDE: waighing; FGHIJKLMNOPQRS: weighing.

b. OPQRS: cunning catching.

c. PQRS: Jewels.

d. NO: 'then' added.

e. PQRS: Heads & other Ornaments.

f. OPQRS: the.

g. JKLMNOPQRS: 'and' omitted.

h. DEFGHIJKLMNOP: inchaunts; QRS: enchaunts.

keepe them company, gluttony and sloth serveth them  
 at the table; pride and vaine-glory apparelleth them; but  
 these servants will waxe weary of their service, and in the  
 end they shall have no other servants to attend them, but  
 5 onely shame, griefe and repentance; but then, oh then  
 (you will say) when it is too late, Oh would to God that  
 wee had beene more carefull of true glorious modesty,  
 and lesse cunning to keepe wantons company! Oh there-  
 fore remember; and thinke before-hand, that every  
 10 sweet hath his sowre: then buy not with a drop of hony  
 a gallon of gall; doe not thinke that this worlds pleasure  
 will passe away with a trifle, and that no sooner done, but  
 presently forgotten: No, no, answer your selves that the  
 punishment remaineth eternally, and therefore better it  
 15 were to be an addle egge, then an evill<sup>a</sup> bird. For we are  
 not borne for<sup>b</sup> our selves<sup>c</sup> to live at pleasure, but to take  
 paines, and to labour for the good of our Countrey, yet  
 so delightfull is our present sweetnesse, that wee never re-  
 member the following sowre: for youth are<sup>d</sup> too too<sup>e</sup> easie<sup>f</sup>  
 20 wonne and overcome with the worlds vanities: Oh too  
 soone (I say) is youth in the blossomes devoured with  
 the caterpillers of foule lust, and lascivious desires, the  
 blacke Fiend<sup>g</sup> of Hell, by his inticing sweet sinne of lust,  
 drawes many young wittes to confusion; for in time it  
 25 drawes the heart bloud of your good names, and that be-  
 ing once lost, is never gotten againe.

Againe, Lust causeth you to doe such foule deeds,  
 which makes your foreheads for ever afterwards seeme  
 spotted with blacke shame, and everlasting infamy, by  
 30 which meanes, your graves after death are closed up with  
 times scandall. And yet Women are easily wooed, and  
 soone

a. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: ill.

b. FGIJKLMNOPN: to; OPQRS: 'to' omitted.

c. OPQRS: 'for ourselves' omitted.

d. DEF: youth is; G: 'is' omitted; I: 'is' emended; JK: 'is' omitted;  
 LMNOPQRS: 'is' emended.

e. RS: 'too' omitted.

f. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: easily.

g. N: field; R: Friend.

- soone won, got with an apple, and lost with the paring:  
 young wittes are soone corrupted, womens bright beauties  
 breed curious thoughts; and golden gifts easily overcome  
 wanton desires, with changing modesty into pastimes  
 5 of vanity, and being once delighted therein, continues  
 in the same without repentance: you are onely the  
 peoples wonder, and misfortunes banding<sup>a</sup> ball tost up &  
 downe the world with woe upon woe, yea ten thousand  
 woes will bee galloping hard at your heeles, and pursue  
 10 you wheresoever you go; for those of<sup>b</sup> ill report cannot stay  
 long in one place, but come and wander about the world,  
 and yet ever unfortunate,<sup>c</sup> prospering in nothing, forsaken  
 and cast out from<sup>d</sup> all civill companies,<sup>e</sup> still in feare lest authority  
 with the sword of Justice, barre them of liberty. Lo  
 15 thus your lives are despised, walking like night-Owles in  
 misery, and no comfort shall be your friend,<sup>f</sup> but onely  
 repentance comming too late, and over-deare bought: A  
 penance and punishment, due to all such hated creatures  
 as these are.
- 20 Therefore beleieve, all you unmarried wantons, and in  
 beleieving grieve, that you have thus unluckily made  
 your selves neither maidens, widdowes, nor wives, but  
 more vile then filthy channel-durt, fit to be swept out of  
 the heart and suburbs of your Countrey. Oh then suffer  
 25 not this worlds pleasure to take from you the good  
 thoughts of an honest life: But downe, downe upon your  
 knees, you earthly Serpents, and wash away your black sin  
 with the cristall teares of true sorrow and repentance, so  
 that when you wander from this inticing world, you may  
 30 bee washed and cleansed from this foule leprosie of nature.

E 2

Loe

a. OPQRS: Bandyng.

b. RS: of those.

c. CDEFGIJKLM: fortunate; NOPQRS: unfortunate.

d. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: of.

e. JKLM: companions.

f. LM: friends.

Loe thus in remorse of minde my tongue hath uttered  
to the wantons of the world, the abundance of my  
hearts grieve, which I have perceived by the unseemely  
behaviour of unconstant both men and women, yet men  
5 for the most part are touched but with one fault, which  
is drinking too much: but it is said of women, that they  
have two faults, that is, they can neither say well, nor yet  
doe well.

For commonly, women are the most part of the fore-  
10 noone painting themselves, and frizzling<sup>a</sup> their haire, and  
prying in their glasse, like Apes to pranke up themselves  
in their gawdies; like Poppets, or like the Spider which  
weaves a fine web to hang the flie. Amongst women<sup>b</sup> she  
is accounted a slut which goeth not in her silkes:<sup>c</sup> there-  
15 fore if thou wilt please thy Lady, thou must like and love,  
sue and serve, and in spending thou must lay on load;<sup>d</sup> for  
they must have maintenance howsoever they get it, by  
hooke or by crooke, out of Judas bag, or the Devils bud-  
get, thou must spare neither lands nor living, money nor  
20 gold.

For women will account thee a pinch-penny,<sup>e</sup> if thou  
be not prodigall, and a<sup>f</sup> dastard,<sup>g</sup> if thou bee not ventrous,<sup>h</sup>  
for they account none valiant, except t hey be desperate;  
if silent, a sot; if full of words, a foole; judging all to be  
25 Clownes which be not Courtiers. If thou be cleanly in  
thine<sup>i</sup> apparrell, they will terme thee proud; if meane in  
apparell, a sloven; if tall, a lunges;<sup>j</sup> if short, a dwarfe: for  
they have ripe wits, and ready tongues,<sup>k</sup> and if they get an  
inch, they will claime an ell: shee will coll<sup>l</sup> thee about the  
30 necke with one hand, but the other shall bee diving into  
thy pocket, and if thou take her with the manner, then it

was

a. LM: fruzling.

b. OPQRS: men.

c. I: Silke.

d. OPQRS: lay on a load.

e. PQRS: Niggard.

f. JKLMNOPQRS: 'a' omitted.

g. PQRS: Coward.

h. JK: venterous; LM: venturous; NOPQRS: ventrous.

i. N: thy; OPQRS: 'thy' omitted.

j. O: lunges; PQRS: May-pole.

k. D: tongue.

l. PQRS: take.

was but in jest, but many times they take in jest (and if they bee not spied) keepe it in earnest: but if thy pockets grow empty, and thy revenues will not hold out longer to maintaine her pompe and bravery, then she presently  
 5 leaves to make much of thy person, and will not stick to say unto thee, that she could have bestowed her love on such a one as would have maintained her like a woman, so by these meanes they weave the web of their own woe, and spin the thred of their own thraldome; if they lacke  
 10 they will lacke at the last, for they will cut it out of the whole cloth so long as the peece will hold out.

Is not the Bee hived for his hony, the Sheepe sheared for his fleece, the Oxe necke wrought for his masters profit, the fowle plucked for her<sup>a</sup> feathers, the tree graf-  
 15 ted to bring forth fruit, and the earth laboured to bring forth corne? but what labour or cost thou bestowest on a woman, is all<sup>b</sup> cast away, for shee will yeelde thee no profit at all, for when thou hast done all, and given them all that they can demand, yet thou shalt bee as well rewarded, as those men were whom Esop hired for three  
 20 halfe pence a day to heare him recite his fables. These things beeing wisely considered, then what a foole art thou to blinde thy selfe in their bold behaviour, and bow at their beckes, and come at their calls, and sell thy lands,  
 25 to make them swimme in their silkes, and jet<sup>c</sup> in their Jewells, making Jill a Gentlewoman, insomuch that shee careth not a penny for the finest, nor a figge for the proudest? she is as good as the best, although she have no more honesty then barely to serve her owne turne, suffering  
 30 every mans fingers as deep in the dish, as thine are in the platter, and every man to angle, where thou castest thy  
 E 3 hooke,

a. LMNOPQRS: 'her' omitted.

b. IJKLMNOPQRS: 'all' omitted.

c. IJK: set; LM: sit; NOPQRS: set.

hooke, holding up to all that come, not much unlike a  
 Barbers chaire, that so soone as one knave is out, another  
 is in, a common hackney for every one that will ride, a  
 boat for every one to row in: now if thy wealth doe begin  
 5 to faile, then she biddeth thee<sup>a</sup> farwell, and giveth thee the  
 adieu in the Devils name, not much unlike the knavish  
 Porters in Bristow,<sup>b</sup> who will cry, A new master, a new, and  
 hang up the old. If the matter be so plaine, then consider  
 this, that the house where such a one keepeth her resi-  
 10 dence, is more odious with slander, then carrion doth in-  
 fect the ayre with stinke; let them flatter how they will,  
 there is no love in them, but from the teeth outward. I  
 blaze their properties the plainer, and give thee the stron-  
 ger reasons, because I would have thee loath the alluring  
 15 traines of such deceitfull and lascivious women: although  
 she<sup>c</sup> make great protestations of love, and thereto bindeth  
 her selfe with most damnable oathes, then beleieve her  
 least of all, for there is no more hold in her oathes, nor in  
 her love, then is certainly of a faire day in Aprill, although  
 20 it looke never so cleere, yet it may turne to a foule. I have  
 seene a Curtizan thus pictured out:

First, a faire young man blind, and in his armes a beauti-  
 full woman, with one hand in his pocket, shewing her  
 theft, and a knife in the other hand to cut his throat.  
 25 Now peradventure, thou maist say unto that, thou dost  
 not know one woman from another, without some triall,  
 because all women are in shape alike: for the sowre crab  
 is like the sweet pippin: true it is, so<sup>d</sup> the Raven is a bird,  
 and the Swan is but a bird: even so many women are in  
 30 shape Angels, but in qualities Devils, painted coffins  
 with rotten bones: the Estridge carrieth faire feathers,  
 but

a. LM: the.

b. NOPQRS: Bristol.

c. G: we.

d. IJKLMNOPQRS: 'so' omitted.



but ranck flesh: the hearb Molio carrieth a flowre as white  
as snow, but a root as blacke as inke.

Although women are beautifull, shewing pittie, yet  
their hearts are blacke, swelling with mischiefe, not much  
5 unlike unto old trees, whose outward leaves are faire and  
greene, and yet the body rotten: if thou hant their houses,  
thou wilt be enamoured; and if thou doe but harken to  
these Syrens, thou wilt be enchanted, for they will allure  
thee with amorous glances of lust, and yet kill thee with  
10 bitter lookes of hate: they have dimples in their cheekes  
to deceive thee, and wrinkles in their browes to betray  
thee: they have eyes to intice, smiles to flatter, imbrace-  
ments to provoke, becke<sup>a</sup> to recall, lips to inchant, kisses  
to inflame, and teares to excuse themselves.

15 If God had not made them only to be a plague to man,  
he would never have called them necessary evils, and what  
are they better? for what do they either get or gaine, save  
or<sup>b</sup> keepe? nay they doe rather spend and consume all that  
which man<sup>c</sup> painefully getteth: a man must be at all the  
20 cost, and yet lived<sup>d</sup> by the losse.

It is very easie for him which never experienced him-  
selfe in that vaine pleasure, or repenting pleasure, choose  
you whether, I meane the accompanying of lewd wo-  
men: but such as are exercised and experimented in that  
25 kind of drudgery, they I say, have a continuall desire, and  
temptation is ready at hand: therefore take heed at the  
first, suffer not thy selfe to bee led away into lustfull folly,  
for it is more easie<sup>e</sup> for a young man or maid to forbear  
carnall act, then it is for a widdow, and yet more easie for  
30 a widdow, then for her that is married, and hath her hus-  
band wanting: then take heed at the first, for there is no-  
thing

a. N: beche's; OPQRS: Beckons.

b. JKLMN: to; OPQRS: or.

c. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'a' added.

d. LM: life.

e. JKLM: more easier; NOPQRS: more easy.

nothing gotten by women but repentance.

- For women are like the<sup>a</sup> Bay tree, which is ever green, but without fruit; or like the unprofitable thorne, which beareth as trim a blossom as the apple: this is nothing,  
 5 but to tell thee that thou must not judge of gold by the<sup>b</sup> colour, nor of womens qualities by their faces, nor by their speeches; for they have delicate tongues, which will ravish and tickle the itching eares of giddy headed yong  
 10 men, so foolish, that they thinke themselves happy if they can but kisse the dazie whereon their love doth<sup>c</sup> tread; who if she frowne,<sup>d</sup> then he descends presently into hell: but if she smile, then is hee carried with wings up into heaven: there is an old saying, that when a dog wags his tayle, he loves his master.
- 15 Some thinke<sup>e</sup> that if a woman smile on them, she is presently over head and eares in love: one must weare her glove, another her garter, another her colours of delight, and another shall spend and live upon the spoile which shee getteth from all the rest: then if thou wilt give thy  
 20 body to the Chirurgical,<sup>f</sup> and thy soule to the Devill, such women are fit for thy diet. Many creatures of every kind resemble women in conditions;<sup>g</sup> for some horse an unskillful rider can hardly disorder;<sup>h</sup> and some againe in despite of the best rider that is, will have a jadish trick: 25 some Hawke although he be ill served, yet will sit quiet; and some, if never so well served, yet will continually flie at checke: againe, some hounds by no meanes will forsake their undertaken game, and some againe in despite of the huntsman will continually runne at randome: and 30 some men will steale if their hands were bound behind them; and some againe will rather sterve then steale, even  
 so

a. IJKLMNOPQRS: a.

b. LM: 'the' omitted; NOPQRS: 'the' emended.

c. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: did.

d. LM: found.

e. RS: 'think' omitted.

f. S: Surgeon.

g. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: condition.

h. IJKLMNOPQRS: order.

so some women will not bee wonne with seaven yeares loving, and some againe will offend with an houres liberty.

Therefore, if thou study a thousand yeares, thou shalt  
 5 find a woman nothing else but a contrary unto man: nay, if thou continue with her a hundredth yeares, yet thou shalt find in her new fancies, and contrary sorts of behaviour; therefore, if all the world were paper, and all the sea inke, and all the trees and plants were pens, and every man in  
 10 the world were a writer, yet were they not able with all their labour and cunning, to set downe all the crafty de-cits of women.

Now me thinks I heare some of you say, that young wits are soone corrupted, and that womens bright beauty  
 15 breedeth curious thoughts in men, also golden gifts easily overcommeth wanton womens desires: and thereby make<sup>a</sup> them become Venus darlings, quite changing customes of modesty, into passions of vanity, wherein once delighted, they continue in the same without repentance  
 20 or sorrow: But out alas, you lascivious Dames, these lewd conditions of yours, will speedily bring all your joyes to sorrow.

### C H A P. I I I

This third Chapter sheweth a remedy against love, also many reasons not to be too hasty in choise of a Wife. But if no remedy<sup>b</sup> but thou wilt marry, then how to choose a wife, with a Commendation of the good, vertuous, and honest Women.

F

B E

a. FGIJKLM: maketh.

b. DEFGIJKLMNOPRS: 'be' added.

**B** E not too hasty to marry, for doubt lest thou  
 marry in haste, and repent<sup>a</sup> by leysure; For  
 there are many troubles which cometh  
 galloping at the heeles of a woman, which  
 5 many young men before-hand doe not thinke of, the  
 world is not all made of Otemeale; nor all is not golde  
 that glisters, nor a smiling countenance is no certaine  
 testimoniall of a merry heart: nor the way to heaven is  
 not strewed with rushes; no more is the cradle of ease  
 10 in a womans lappe: if thou wert a servant, or in bon-  
 dage before, yet when thou marriest, thy toyle is never  
 the neer ended,<sup>b</sup> but even then, and not before, thou chan-  
 gest thy golden life which thou didst leade before, in res-  
 pect of the married, for a drop of hony which quickly  
 15 turneth to bee as bitter as worm-wood; And therefore  
 farre better it were to have two plowes going then one  
 cradle, and better a barne filled then a bed; therefore cut  
 off the occasion, which may any way bring thee into  
 fooles Paradise. Then first, and above all, shun idlenes;  
 20 for idlenes is the beginner and maintainer<sup>c</sup> of love, ther-  
 fore apply thy selfe about some affaires, or be occupied  
 about some businesse: for as long as thy minde or thy bo-  
 dy is in labour, the love of a woman is not remembred,  
 nor lust never thought upon: but if thou spend thy time  
 25 idly amongst women, thou art like unto him which  
 playeth with the Bee, who may sooner feele of her sting,  
 then taste of her hony; he that toucheth pitch, may bee  
 defiled therewith. Roses unadvisedly gathered, prickled<sup>d</sup>  
 our fingers; Bees ungently handled, sting our faces, and  
 30 yet the one is pleasant, and the other is profitable, and if  
 thou be in company of women, the Devill himselfe hath  
 not

- a. DEFG: for doubtles if thou marry in haste, thou wilt repent;  
 IJKLMNOPQRS: thou shalt repent.  
 b. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: nearer.  
 c. RS: 'and maintainer' omitted.  
 d. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: pricke.

not more illusions to get men into his net, then women  
 have devices and inventions to allure men into their love;  
 and if thou suffer thy selfe once to be led into fooles pa-  
 radice, (that is to say) the bed or closet wherein a woman  
 5 is, (then I say) thou art like a bird snared in a Lime-bush,  
 which the more she striveth, the faster she is. It is<sup>a</sup> unpossi-  
 ble to fall amongst stones, and not bee hurt, or amongst  
 thornes, and not be prickt, or amongst nettles, and not be  
 stung: a man cannot carry fire in his bosome, and not  
 10 burne his cloathing; no more can a man live in love, but  
 it is a life as wearisome as hell, and hee that marrieth a  
 wife, matcheth himselfe unto many troubles. If thou ma-  
 riest a still and a quiet woman, that will seeme to thee  
 that thou ridest but an ambling horse<sup>b</sup> to hell; but if with  
 15 one that is froward and unquiet, then thou wert as good  
 ride a trotting horse to the Devill: heerein I will not be my  
 owne carver, but I referre<sup>c</sup> you to the judgement of those  
 which have seene the troubles, and felt the torments; for  
 none are better able to judge of womens qualities, then  
 20 those which have them; none feeles the hardnesse of the  
 Flint, but he that strikes it; none knowes where the shooe  
 pincheth, but he that wears it. It is said that a man should  
 eat a bushell of salt with one which he meanes to make  
 his friend, before hee put any great confidence or trust  
 25 in him: And if thou bee so long in choosing a friend,  
 in my minde thou hadst neede to eat two bushels of salt  
 with a woman, before thou make her thy wife; other-  
 wise, before thou hast eaten one bushell with her, thou  
 shalt taste of ten quarters of sorrow, and for every dram  
 30 of pleasure, an ounce of paine, and for every pint of ho-  
 ney a gallon of gall, and for every inche of mirth an ell  
 of

F 2

a. RS: Is it.

b. RS: 'to hell' omitted.

c. G I J K L M N O P Q R S: preferre.

of mone. In the beginning, a womans love seemeth delightfull, but endeth with destruction;<sup>a</sup> therefore hee that trusteth to the love of a woman, shall be as sure as he that hangeth by the<sup>b</sup> leafe of a tree in the later end of Summer:  
 5 and yet there is great difference betwixt the standing poole, and the running streame, although they are both waters.

Therefore of two evils, choose the least, and avoid the greatest; but my meaning is not heere to advise thee to  
 10 choose the least woman: for the little women are as unhappy as the greatest; for though their staturs<sup>c</sup> be little, yet their hearts are<sup>d</sup> big: then speake faire to all, but trust none, and say with Diogenes, It is too soone for a young man to marry, and too late for old men. One asked a Philo-  
 15 sopher, what the life of a married man was? hee answered, Misery. And what is his felicity? Misery: for he still lingers in hope of further joy. And what is his end? and he still answered, Misery.

There are sixe kinds of women which thou shouldest  
 20 take heed that thou match thy selfe to any one of them: that is to say, good nor bad, faire nor foule, rich nor poore; for if thou marriest one that is good, thou maist quickly spill her with too much making of her: for when provender pricks a woman, then shee will grow  
 25 knavish: and if bad, then thou must support her in all her bad actions, and that will be so wearisome unto thee, that thou hadst as good draw water continually to fill a bot-  
 tomlesse tub: if she be faire, then thou must doe nothing else but watch her: and if she be foule and loathsom, who  
 30 can abide her? if shee be rich, then thou must forbear her because of her wealth: and if she be poore, then thou  
 must

a. NOP: destructions.

b. JKLMNOPQRS: a.

c. RS: statutes.

d. LM: be.

must<sup>a</sup> maintaine her.

For if a woman be never so rich in dowry, happy by her good name, beautifull of body, sober of countenance, eloquent in speech, and adorned with vertue, yet they  
 5 have one ill quality or other, which overthroweth all the other: like unto that Cow which giveth great store of milke, and presently striketh it downe with her foote, such a cow is as much to be blamed for the losse, as to be commended for the gift: or like as when men talke of such a  
 10 man, or such a man, he is an excellent good workeman, or he is a good Chirurgian, or a good Phisition, or hee is a pretty fellow of his hands, but if<sup>b</sup> they conclude with this word, But it is pittie hee hath one fault, which commonly in some men is drunkennesse, then I say, if he were  
 15 endued with all the former qualities, yet they cannot gaine him so much credit to counterpoise the discredit that commeth thereby.

It is said of men, that they have that one fault, but of women it is said that they have two faults, that is to say,  
 20 they can neither say well, nor doe well: there is a saying that goeth<sup>c</sup> thus, that things farre fetcht and deare bought are of us most dearly beloved, the like may be said of women, although many of them are not farre fetched, yet they are deare bought, yea and so deare, that many a  
 25 man curseth his hard penniworths, and bannes his owne heart; for the pleasure of the fairest woman in the world lasteth but a hony moone, that is, while a man hath glutted his affections, and reaped the first fruit, his pleasure beeing past sorrow and repentance remaineth still with  
 30 him.

Therefore to make thee the stronger to strive against  
 F 3 these

a. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'needes' added.

b. LMNOPQRS: yet.

c. NOPQRS: goes.

these tame Serpents, thou shalt have<sup>a</sup> more strings to thy bow then one, it is safe riding at two ankers; alwaies looke before thou leape, lest thy shinnes thou chance to breake. Now the fire is kindled, let us burne this other fagot, and  
 5 so to our matter againe.

If a woman be never so comely, thinke her a counter-fet; if never so straight, thinke her crooked; if she be well set, call her a bosse; if<sup>b</sup> slender, a hazell twig; if browne, thinke her as blacke as a<sup>c</sup> Crow; if well-coloured, a pain-  
 10 ted wall; if sad, or shame-fac'd, then thinke her a clowne; if merry and pleasant, then she is the liker to be a wanton. But if thou bee such a foole that thou wilt spend thy time and treasure, the one in the love of women, and the other to delight them; in my mind thou resembllest the simple  
 15 Indians, who apparell themselves most richly when they goe to be burned.

But what should I say? some will not give their bable for the Tower of London. He that hath sailed at sea, hath seene the dangers, and he that is married, can tell of his  
 20 owne woe, but hee that is never burnt, will never dread the fire. Some will goe to dice, although they see others lose all their money at play, and some will marry, though<sup>d</sup> they beg together. Is it not strange that men should be so foolish to dote on<sup>e</sup> women, who differ so farre in nature  
 25 from men? for a man delights in armes, & in hearing the rattling drums, but a woman loves to heare sweet musick on the<sup>f</sup> Lute, Cittern, or Bandora: a man rejoyceth to march among the murthered carkasses, but a woman to dance on a silken carpet: a man loves to heare the threat-  
 30 nings of his Princes enemies, but a woman weepes when she heares of<sup>g</sup> wars: a man loves to lye on the cold grasse, but

a. RS: 'no' added.

b. IJKLMNOPQRS: 'if' omitted.

c. F: a as.

d. IJKLMNOPNO: although; PQRS: altho'.

e. OPQR: doat on; S: dot one.

f. LM: a.

g. KLMNOPQRS: the.



but a woman must be wrapped in warme mantles: a man tryumphe at warres, but a woman rejoyceth more at peace.

If a man talke of any kinde of beast or fowle, presently the nature is knowne: as for example, the Lyons are all strong and hardy, the Hares are all fearefull and cowardly, the Doves are all simple, and so of all beasts and fowle the like, I meane few or none swarving from his kind; but women have more contrary sorts of behaviour then there be women, and therefore impossible for a man to know all, no nor one part of womens qualities all the daies of thy life.

Some with sweete words undermine their husbands, <sup>a</sup> as Dalila did Samson, and some with chiding and brawling are made weary of the world, as Socrates and others: Socrates when his wife did chide and brawle, would goe out of the house till all were quiet againe; but because hee would not scold with her againe, it grieved her the more; for on a time shee watched his going out, and threw a chamber-pot out of<sup>b</sup> a window on his head. Ha, ha, quoth hee, I thought after all this thunder there would come raine.

There is an history maketh mention of one named Annyinous, who invited a friend of his to go home with him to supper; but when he came home, he found his wife chiding and brawling with her maidens, whereat his guest was very much discontented, Annyinous turning to him, said. Good Lord how impatient art thou? I have suffered her these twenty yeares, and canst not thou abide her two houres? by which meanes he caused his wife to leave chiding, and laughed out the matter.

There

a. JKNO: husband.

b. NOPQRS: at.

There is no woman but either she has a long tongue,  
 or a longing tooth, and they are two<sup>a</sup> ill neighbours, if  
 they dwell together: for the one will lighten thy<sup>b</sup> purse, if  
 it be still pleased, and the other will waken thee from thy  
 5 sleepe, if it be not charmed. Is it not strange of what kinde  
 of mettall a womans tongue is made of?<sup>c</sup> that neither cor-  
 rection can chastise,<sup>d</sup> nor faire meanes quiet: for there is a  
 kinde of venome in it, that neither by faire meanes nor  
 foule they are to be ruled. Alll beasts by men are made  
 10 tame, but a womans tongue will never be lame; it is but  
 a small thing, and seldome seene, but it is<sup>e</sup> often heard, to  
 the terror and utter confusion of many a man.

Therefore, as a sharpe bit curbes a froward horse, even so  
 a curst woman must be roughly used: but if women could  
 15 hold their tongues, then many times men would hold  
 their hands. As the best mettled blade is mixt with iron, e-  
 ven so the best woman that is, is not free from faults: the  
 goodliest gardens are not free from weeds, no more is the  
 best nor the fairest woman from ill deeds.

20 He that useth troth to tell,  
May blamed be, though he say well.  
If thou be young, marry<sup>f</sup> not yet,  
If thou be old, thou wilt have more wit;  
For young mens wives will not be taught,  
 25 And olde mens wives are good for nought.  
Whene he that for a woman striveth by law,  
Shal strive like a cox-comb, and prove but a daw.  
Then buy not thou with overmuch cost,  
The thing which yeelds but labour lost.

30 Divers beasts, and fowle, by nature have more strength  
 in one part of the body then in another, as the Eagle in  
 the

a. CN: too.

b. EFGIJKLMNOPQRS: the.

c. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'of' omitted.

d. EFGIJKLMNOPQRS: chasten.

e. J: 'it' omitted; K: 'it is' omitted; LMNOPQRS: 'it' omitted.

f. RS: 'and' added before 'marry'.

g. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: And.

the beake, the Unicorne in the horne, the Bull in the head,  
 the Beare in his armes, the Horse in his brest, the Dogge  
 in his teeth, the Serpent in<sup>a</sup> his tayle: but a womans chiefe  
 strength is in her tongue; the Serpent hath not so much  
 5 venome in his tayle, as she hath in her tongue; and as the  
 Serpent never leaveth hissing and stinging, and seeking  
 to doe mischief: even so, some women are never well,  
 except they be casting out venome with their tongues, to  
 the hurt of their husbands or of their neighbours; there-  
 10 fore he that will disclose his secrets to a woman, is wor-  
 thy to have his hayre cut with Samson; for, if thou unfol-  
 dest any thing of<sup>b</sup> secret to a woman, the more thou char-  
 gest her to keepe it close, the more she will seeme as it  
 were to bee with childe till shee have revealed it amongst  
 15 her gossips; yet if one should make doubt of her secresie,  
 shee would seeme angry, and say, I am no such light hus-  
 wife of my tongue, as they whose secrets lye at their  
 tongues ends, which flies abroad so soone as they open  
 their mouthes; therefore feare not to disclose your se-  
 20 crets to mee, for I was never touched with any stayne<sup>c</sup> of  
 my tongue in all<sup>d</sup> my life; nay, shee will not sticke to sweare  
 that she will treade it under foot, or bury it under a stone:  
 yet for all this, beleewe her not, for every woman hath  
 one especiall gossip at the least,<sup>e</sup> which shee doth love &  
 25 affect above all the rest, and unto her shee runneth with al  
 the secrets she knoweth.

There is an history making mention of one Lyas, whom  
 King Amasis commanded to goe into the market, and to  
 buy the best and profitablest meat he could get; and hee  
 30 bought nothing but tongues; the King asked him the rea-  
 son why he bought no other meat, who made this answer,

G

I was

a. I: is.

b. JLMN: 'thing' omitted; OPQRS: 'thing' emended.

c. EFG: straine; I: staine; JKLMNOPQ: straine; RS: stain.

d. CDEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'all' omitted.

e. LMNOPQRS: Feast.

I was commanded to buy the best meate, and from the tongue came<sup>a</sup> many good and profitable speaches; then the king sent him again, and bade him buy the worst and unprofitablest meate: and he likewise bought nothing but  
 5 tongues, the King againe asked him the reason, from nothing (said hee) commeth worse venome, then from the tongue, and such tongues must<sup>b</sup> women have.

Romaine history maketh<sup>c</sup> mention of one of the chiefe governors of Rome, that had a sonne, whose name  
 10 was Papirius, whose father tooke him with him to the Councill-house, that thereby he might learne wisdom, wishinge him withall to keepe their secrets: his mother was divers times asking of the boy what they did at the Counsaile-house, and what the cause was of their often  
 15 meeting; on a time young Papirius fearing to displease his father, and hoping to satisfie his mother tould her this, Mother (said he) there is hard hold amongst them about making of a law, that every man shall have two wives, or every woman two husbands and so far as I can per-  
 20 ceive, it is likely to be concluded upon, that every man shall have two wives.

The next day, when his father and he were gone to the Counsaile-house, shee bestirred her selfe, and got most of the chiefe women of the City together, and tould them  
 25 what a law was like to be made, if it were not prevented: and so to the Counsaile-house they went a great flocke of them: but when they came in, the Governours were all amazed, and asked the cause of their comming? and one of the women havinge leave to speake, saide thus:  
 30 Whereas you are about to make a law, that every man shall have two wives, consider with yourselves what unquiet-  
 nesse

a. DEFGI: come; JKLM: comes; NOPQRS: come.

b. CDEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: most.

c. CDEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: Romane histories make.

nesse and strife thereby will arise: but (said shee) it were better that one woman should<sup>a</sup> have two husbands, that if the one were on businesse abroad, the other might bee at home. Now when the Governours heard this speach,

5 they marvailed wherupon it should arise? then young Papirius requested that he might speake, who presently resolved them the cause of the womens comming, so they greatly commended the boy, and laughed the women to scorne.

10 Here thou maist perceive by a taste, what wine is in the butt: if the Dragons head be full of poyson, what venome then (think you) lurketh in the tayle? All this is but to tell thee of the doubts and dangers that come by marriage, yet I would not have all men feare to lye in the grasse, be-

15 cause a Snake lyeth there, nor all men feare to go to Sea, because some men are drowned at Sea, neither doe I warrant al men to feare to goe to their beds because many dy in their beds:<sup>b</sup> then marry a<sup>c</sup> Gods name, but againe and againe take heede to<sup>d</sup> the choyce of thy wife.

20 Marry not for beautie without vertue, nor choose for riches without good conditions. Salomon amongst many other notable<sup>e</sup> sentences fit for this purpose, saith, that a faire woman without discreet maners, is like a gold ring in a swines snowte? and if thou marriest for wealth, then

25 thy wife many times will cast it<sup>f</sup> in thy dish saying, that of a begger shee made thee a man: againe, if thou marriest for beautie and above thy calling, thou must not onely beare with thy wives folly, but with many unhappy words, for shee will say, she was blinded in fancying thee:

30 for she might have had Captaine such a one, or this Gentleman, or that, so that thou shalt never neede to crave a

G 2

foule

a. DEFGIJKLMNOPORS: might.

b. RS: 'Because many die in their beds' omitted.

c. RS: fn.

d. IJKLMNOPORS: of.

e. RS: noble.

f. N: 'it' omitted.

foule word at her hands in seven yeares, for thou shalt have enow without asking; besides, I feare mee thou wilt be better headed then wedded, for shee will make thee weare an Oxe feather in thy cap; yet he which hath a fayre  
 5 wife will adventure on a thousand infamies, onely in hope to keepe her<sup>a</sup> in the state of an honest woman; but if shee be ill given, do what thou canst, breake thy heart and bend thy study never so much, yet all will not serve, thou maiest let her goe at all howres of the night, shee will never meete  
 10 with a worse then her selfe, except shee meete with the devill himselfe.

Therefore yet once more I advise thee in the choyce of thy wife, to have a speciall regard to her qualities and conditions before thou shake hands or jumpe a match  
 15 with her: Also inquire and marke the life and conversation of her Parents, let the old Proverbe<sup>b</sup> put thee in minde hereof, that an evill<sup>c</sup> Bird layeth an ill Egge, the Cat will after her kind, an ill Tree cannot bring forth good fruit, the young Crab<sup>d</sup> goeth<sup>e</sup> crooked<sup>f</sup> like the Damme,  
 20 the young Cocke croweth as the old, and it is a verie rare matter to see children tread out of the pathes of their Parents. Hee that commeth into a Fayre to buy a horse, will pry into every part to see whether hee bee sound of winde and limbe, and without cracke or flaw, and whe-  
 25 ther his breeding were in a hard soyle, or whether he be well paced,<sup>g</sup> and likewise he will have a care that his horse shall have all outward markes which betoken<sup>h</sup> a good horse, yet with all the cunning he hath, he may be deceived; but if hee prove a Jade, he may put him away at the  
 30 next Fayre.

But if in choyse of thy wife thou be deceyved, as many  
 men

a. E: 'her' omitted.

b. NOPQRS: proverbs.

c. IJKLMNOPQRS: ill.

d. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: Cub.

e. C: groeth; DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: groweth.

f. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: craftie.

g. OPQ: placed; RS: paced.

h. LMNOPQRS: betokeneth.

men are, thou must stand to thy word which thou  
 madest before the whole Parrish, which was, to take  
 her for better or<sup>a</sup> worse; for there is no refusing, shee will  
 sticke to thee as close as a saddle to a horses backe, and if  
 5 she be frowardly given, then she will vex thee night &  
 day.

Amongst the quietest couples that are, yet household jars  
 will arise, but yet such quarrels which happen in the day,  
 are often quallified with kisses in the night; but if it be not  
 10 so ended, their thirst<sup>b</sup> will goe forward like the carriage  
 which is drawn between two horses, taile to taile, & if she  
 cannot revenge<sup>c</sup> her selfe with her tongue, nor with her  
 hands, nor with conveying thy<sup>d</sup> goods, yet shee will pay  
 thee home privately; for if thou strike with thy sword,  
 15 shee will strike with the scabard; choose not the rapier by  
 his<sup>e</sup> ringing, nor thy wife by her singing; for if thou doest,  
 thou mayest be very well deceyved in both, for thy rapier  
 may prove a gad,<sup>f</sup> and thy wife but little better.

Now if thou aske me how thou shouldest choose thy  
 20 wife? I answer, that thou shalt have the whole world to make  
 choyse, & yet thou maiest be deceyved. An ancient father  
 being asked by a young man how hee should choose a  
 wife, he answered him thus, When thou seest a flocke  
 of maydens together, hudwinke thyselfe<sup>g</sup> fast, and runne  
 25 amongst them, and looke which thou chasest,<sup>h</sup> let her be  
 thy wife: the young man told him, that if he went blind-  
 folded, he might be deceyved: and so thou maiest (quoth  
 the old man) if thy eyes were open; for in the choise of  
 thy wife, thou must not trust thy owne eyes, for they will  
 30 deceive thee, and be the cause of thy woe: for she may  
 seeme good whose waste is like a wand, or she which  
 hath

G 3

a. EFGIJK: for; LMN: or; OPQ: for; RS: or for.

b. DEFGIJ: thrift; KLMNOPQRS: strife.

c. KLMNOPQRS: avenge.

d. NOPQRS: the.

e. PQRS: its.

f. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: jade.

g. LM: they self.

h. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: catchest.

hath a spider fingered hand, or she which on her tiptoes  
 still doth stand, and never read but in a golden booke,  
 nor will not be caught but with a golden hooke; or such  
 a one as can stroke a beard, or looke a head, and of every  
 5 flea can make her selfe afraide if one had a spring, such a  
 wench would make him a beggar if he were halfe a King:  
 then this is no bargaine for thee. But harke a little fur-  
 ther: the best time for a young man to marry, is at the age  
 of twenty and five, and then to take a wife of the age of  
 10 seventene yeares, or thereabout, rather a maid then a  
 widdow; for a widdow is framed to the conditions of  
 another man, and can hardly be altered, so that thy pains  
 will be double: for thou must unlearne a widdow, and  
 make her forget and forgoe her former corrupt and dis-  
 15 ordered behaviour, the which is hardly to be done: but  
 a young woman of tender yeares is flexible and bending,  
 obedient and subject to doe any thing, according to the  
 will and pleasure of her husband.

And if thy state be good, marry neere home, and at lei-  
 20 sure; but if thy state be weake and poore, then to better  
 thy selfe after enquiry made of her wealth and conditions,  
 go farre off, and dispatch it quickly, for doubt lest<sup>a</sup> tattling  
 speeches, which commonly in these cases runne betwixt  
 party and party, and<sup>b</sup> breake it off, even then when it is  
 25 come to the up-shot: but as I have already said, before  
 thou put thy foot out of doores, make diligent enquiry  
 of her behaviour; for by the market-folke thou shalt  
 heare how the market goeth: for by enquiry thou shalt  
 heare whether she be wise, vertuous, and kinde, wearing  
 30 but her owne proper haire, and such garments as her  
 friends estate will affoord, or whether she love to keepe  
 within

a. DEFGI: of; JKLMNOPQRS: that.

b. NOPQRS: 'and' substituted by 'will'.



within the house, and to the servants have a watchfull  
 eie, or if shee have a care when to spend, & when to spare,  
 and to be content with what God doth send, or if she can  
 shed no kind of unstained<sup>a</sup> teares, but when just cause of  
 5 hearty sorrow is, and that in wealth and woe, in sicknesse  
 and in health, shee will be alike, such a wife will make  
 thee<sup>b</sup> happy in thy choice.

Although some happen on a devilish and unhappy  
 women, yet al men doe not so, and such as happen ill it is  
 10 a warninge to make them wise, if they make a second  
 choise, not that all other shall have the like fortune, the  
 sunne shineth<sup>c</sup> upon the good and bad, and many a man  
 happeneth sooner on a shrew then a ship:<sup>d</sup> Some thrive  
 by dicing, but not one in an hundreth, therefore dicing is  
 15 ill husbandry,<sup>e</sup> some thrive by marriage, and yet many are  
 undone by marriage, for marriage is either the making  
 or marring of many a man, and yet I will not say but a-  
 mongst dust there is<sup>f</sup> Pearle<sup>g</sup> found, and in hard rockes  
 Dymonds of great value, and so amongst many women  
 20 there are some good, as that gracious and glorious  
 Queene of all womankind, the Virgin Mary, the mother  
 of al blisse: what won her honour, but an humble minde,  
 and her paines and love unto our Saviour Christ.

Sara is commended for the earnest love that she bare  
 25 to her husband, not onely for calling him Lord, but for  
 many other quallities: Also Susanna for her chastity and  
 for creeping on her knees to please her husband, but  
 there are meaner histories which makes<sup>h</sup> mention of many  
 others, as that of Demetries how that shee was content to  
 30 run Lackey<sup>i</sup> by her husbands side.

Likewise Lucretia, for the love and loyalty, that shee  
 bare

- a. DEFGIJKLMN: unfained; OPQRS: unfeigned.
- b. FGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'a happy man' added.
- c. JKLMNOPQRS: shining.
- d. CDEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: sheep.
- e. PQRS: 'Some...Husbandry' omitted.
- f. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: are.
- g. CDEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: Pearles.
- h. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: make.
- i. RS: Hackney.

bare to her husband, being unkindly abused by an unchast lecher against her will, she presently slew her selfe in the presence of many, rather then shee would offer her body againe to her husband being but one time<sup>a</sup> defiled.

- 5 It is recorded of an Earle called Cuncalles<sup>c</sup>, that upon the Kings displeasure<sup>b</sup> was committed to prison, and his wife having liberty to visite him in prison, on a time she caused him to put off his apparrell, and to put on hers, & so by that meanes got out by the Porter, and she remained in prison; and so by this meanes he escaped the angry rage of his Prince, and afterwards his wife was delivered also.

- Likewise it was no small love which Artymenes<sup>c</sup> bare<sup>d</sup> to her husband; for after his death shee built such a famous  
15 Sepulchre (and bestowed the greatest part of her wealth thereon) in so much as at this day it is called one of the seven great wonders of the world.

- Also Pliny makes mention of a Fisher-man which dwelt neere unto the Sea side, and hee fell sicke of an uncurable  
20 disease, by which meanes hee endured such torment and paine, that it would have grieved any creature to behold him; his carefull and loving wife laboured & travelled farre and neere to procure his health againe, but at last seeing all meanes in vaine, shee brake out with  
25 him in these words: Death at one time or another will come, and therefore rather then you should any longer indure this miserable life, I am content that both of us prevent death before hee come: so this poore grieved man did yeeld to her counsell, and they went forth to the top  
30 of an exceeding high Rocke, & there this woman bound her selfe fast to her husband, and from thence casting them-

a. CDEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: once.

b. LM: pleasure.

c. IJKLMNOPQRS: Artemisia.

d. PQRS: bear.

themselves downe, ended<sup>a</sup> their lives together.

Now I doe not commend this death to be godly,<sup>b</sup> although it shewed great love in the woman:<sup>c</sup> no doubt but the King of Ayra<sup>d</sup> had a very kind and loving wife as  
 5 shall appeare, for when Alexander the great had deprived him of the greatest part of his kingdome, yet he bare it out very patiently with a valiant and manly courage, and without any shew of outward griefe at all: but when  
 10 newes was brought him that his wife was dead, he then most grievously brake into teares, and wept bitterly, and withall hee said, that the losse of his whole Kingdome should not have grieved him so much, as the death of his wife.

It is also recorded of Alexander, that at the death of his  
 15 wife he made such a sorrowfull kind of speech for her, saying, Death were kind if he tooke nothing but that which offendeth; but he hath taken her away which never offended. Oh death; thou hast bereaved mee of the better part of my life.

20 It is also<sup>e</sup> said of Valerius Maximus,<sup>f</sup> that he on a time finding two Serpents in his bed-chamber, being strangely amazed thereat, he demaunded of the South-sayers what it meained? and they answered him, That of necessity he must kill one of them; and if he killed the male, then hee  
 25 himselfe must first die;<sup>g</sup> and if<sup>h</sup> the female, then his wife should die before him: & because he loved his wife better then himselfe, he most grievously<sup>i</sup> made choyce of the male, and killed him first, and shortly after he dyed, leaving his wife a widdow.

30 Such a kind foole<sup>j</sup> to his wife was Adam; for hee was forbidden on paine of death, not to eate of the tree of  
 H good

a. IJKLMN: and both ended; OPQRS: 'and' omitted.

b. PQRS: this rash action.

c. S: 'Now...woman' added to the previous paragraph.

d. IJKLMNOPQRS: King Darius.

e. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: 'also' omitted.

f. K: Tiberius Gracchus.

g. G: himselfe surely must first dye; IJKLMNOP: surely shall first die; QRS: die first.

h. GJKLMNOPQRS: 'he killed the female' added.

i. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: willingly.

j. GJKLM: kinde of Animall; NOPQRS: kinde of Animal.

good and evill, yet for all that, Adam notwithstanding, to gratifie his wives kindnesse, and for love he bare<sup>a</sup> her, refused not to hazzard his life by breach of that commaundement.

- 5 But because in all things there is a contrary, which sheweth the difference betwixt the<sup>b</sup> good and the bad, even so both of men and women there are contrary sortes of behaviour: if in thy choice thou happen on a good wife, desire not to change, for there is a Proverbe saith,  
 10 Seldome commeth a better. And there is none poorer then those that have had many wives. Thou maiest beare a good affection towards thy wife, & yet let her not know it: thou maiest love her well, and yet not carrie her on thy backe: a man may love his house well, and yet not ride on  
 15 the ridge: love thy wife, and speake her faire, although thou doe but flatter her: for women love to be accounted beautifull, and to be mistresses of many maides, & to live without controlement, and kinde wordes as much please a woman, as any other thing whatsoever: and a mans  
 20 chiefest desire should be first the grace of God, a quiet life, and an honest wife, a good report, and a friend in store; and then what neede a man to aske any more?

- Saint Paul saith those which marry doe well; but he also saith, those which marry not doe better; but yet also  
 25 he sayeth, that it is better to marry then to burne in lust. A merry companion being asked by his friend, why hee did not marry, he made this answere, and said; That hee had beene in Bedlam two or three times, and yet hee was never so mad to marry; and yet<sup>c</sup> there is no joy nor pleasure  
 30 in the world which may bee compared to marriage, so the parties are of neere equall yeeres, and of good qualities,

a. LM: bares; NOPQ: bare; RS: beare.

b. I: 'the' omitted before 'good'.

c. I: 'yet' omitted; JKLMNOPQRS: 'yet' emended.

lities, then good fortune and bad is welcome to them,  
 both their cares are equall, and their joyes equall,<sup>a</sup> come  
 what will all is welcome, & all is common betwixt them,  
 the husband doth honour and reverence her, and if he  
 5 be rich he committeth all his goods to her keeping, and  
 if he be poore, and in adversity, then he beareth but the  
 one halfe of the grieffe, & furthermore shee will comfort  
 him with all the comfortable means she can devise, and  
 if he will stay solitary in his house, she will keepe him com-  
 10 pany, if he will walke into<sup>b</sup> the fields, why shee will goe  
 with him, and if he be absent from home, shee sigheth of-  
 ten, and wisheth his presence, being come home, he fin-  
 deth<sup>c</sup> content<sup>d</sup> sitting smiling in every corner of his house,  
 to give him a kind and a hearty welcome home, and she  
 15 receiveth him with the best and sweetest joy that she can:  
 Many are the joyes and sweet pleasures in marriage, as in  
 our children, being young, they play, prattle, laugh and  
 shew us many pretty toyes to move us to mirth and  
 laughter, and when they are bigger growne, and that  
 20 age or poverty hath afflicted the Parents, then they  
 shew the duety of children in relieving their old aged  
 parents with what they can shift for, and when their pa-  
 rents are dead, they bring them to the earth from whence  
 they came.  
 25 Yet now consider on the other side, when a wrinckled  
 and toothlesse woman shall take a beardlesse<sup>e</sup> boy (a short  
 tale to make of it) there can be no liking nor loving be-  
 tweene such contraries, but continuall strife and debate,  
 so likewise when matches are made by the Parents, and  
 30 the dowry tolde and paid before the young couple have  
 any knowledge of it, & so many times are forced against  
 H 2 their

- a. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: alike.
- b. NOPQRS: into.
- c. NOP: finding; QRS: findeth.
- d. IJKLMNOPQRS: 'she' added.
- e. LM: beardless.

their minds, fearing the rigour & displeasure of their parents, they often promise with their mouthes that which<sup>a</sup> they refuse with their hearts.

Also if a man marry a wife for fayre looks without dowry then their<sup>b</sup> love will soone waxe cold, insomuch that they use them not like wives, but rather like kitchinstuffe, whereas those which marry rich wives, they have alwaies something to be in love withall. It is a common thing now adayes, that fayre women without riches find more  
10 lovers then husbands.

Choose not a wife too faire, nor too foule, nor too rich: for if she be faire, every one will be catching at her, and if she be too foule, a man will have no minde to love her which no body<sup>c</sup> likes, & if too rich thou thinkest to marry  
15 with one which thou meanest to make thy companion, thou shalt find her a commaunding Mistresse; so that riches causeth a woman to be proud, beauty makes her to be suspected, & hard favoured<sup>d</sup> maketh her to be hated. Therefore choose a wife young, well borne, and well  
20 brought up, reasonable<sup>e</sup> rich, and indifferent beautifull, and of a good wit and capacity: also in choyse of a wife, a man should note the honesty of the<sup>f</sup> parents, for it is a likelyhood that those children which are vertuously brought up will follow the steps of their parents, but yet  
25 many a tree is spoyled in the hewing, there are some which have but one onely<sup>g</sup> daughter, and they are so blinded with the extreame love that they beare her, that they will not<sup>h</sup> have her hindred of her will whatsoever she desireth; so suffering<sup>i</sup> her to live in all wanton pleasure & delicacy, which afterwards turneth to be the cause of many  
30 inconveniences.

Now

a. GJKLM: 'which' omitted; NOPQRS: 'and' substituted for 'that'.

b. I: thy.

c. CDEFGJKLMNOPQRS: no man.

d. EFGJKLMNOPQRS: hard favour.

e. QRS: reasonably.

f. NOPQRS: her.

g. NOPQRS: only but one.

h. RS: 'not' omitted.

i. DEF: suffer; G: but suffering; IJKLM: but suffer; NOPQRS: and suffer.

Now the Father before he marry his daughter, is to sift  
 throughly the qualities, behaviour, and life of his sonne  
 in law; for he which meeteth with a civill and an honest  
 sonne in law, getteth<sup>a</sup> a good sonne, and he which meeteth  
 5 with an ill one,<sup>b</sup> casteth away his daughter.

The husband must provide to satisfie the honest desires  
 of his wife, so that neyther necessity nor superfluity be  
 the occasion to worke her dishonour: for both want and  
 plenty, both ease and disease makes some women often-  
 10 times unchaste: and againe, many times the wife seeing  
 the husband take no<sup>c</sup> care for her, making<sup>d</sup> belike this rec-  
 koning that no body else will care for her, or desire her:  
 but to conclude this<sup>e</sup> point, shee onely is to be accounted  
 honest, who having liberty to doe amisse, yet<sup>f</sup> doth it  
 15 not.

Again, a man should thus account of his wife, as the on-  
 ly treasure he enjoyeth upon earth,<sup>g</sup> & hee must also ac-  
 count that there is nothing more due to the wife, then the  
 faithfull, honest, and loving company of the husband,  
 20 he ought also in signe<sup>h</sup> of love to impart his secrets and  
 counsell unto his wife, for many have found much com-  
 fort and profit by taking their wives counsell; and if thou  
 impart any ill hap to thy wife, shee lightneth thy grieffe,  
 eyther by comforting thee lovingly, or else in bearing  
 25 a part thereof patiently. Also if thou espie a fault in thy  
 wife, thou must not rebuke her angerly or reprochfully,  
 but onely secretly betwixt you two, alwayes remem-  
 bring that thou must neyther chide nor play with thy  
 wife before company, those that play and dally with  
 30 them before company, they doe thereby set other mens  
 teeth on edge, and make their wives the lesse shamefaste.

H 3

It

a. I: getting.

b. NOPQR: all in one; S: an ill one.

c. RS: 'no' omitted.

d. DEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: maketh.

e. G: 'same' added; I: the same; JKLMNOPQRS: this same.

f. I: 'and' added; JKLMNOPQRS: 'and' deleted.

g. NOPQRS: 'the' added.

h. JKLMN: sight; OPQRS: sign.

It behoveth the married man alwayes to shew himselfe in speech & countenance both gentle and amiable; for if a woman of modest behaviour seeth any grosse incivility in her husband, she doth not onely abhorre it, but  
 5 also thinketh with her selfe, that other men are more discreet, and better brought up, therefore it standeth him upon to be civill and modest in his doings, lest he offend the chaste thoughts of his wife, to whose liking he ought to conforme<sup>a</sup> himselfe in al honest and reasonable things,  
 10 and to take heed of every thing which may mislike her.

Why some women love their lovers better then their husbands; the reason is, the lover in the presence of his Lady is very curious of his behaviour, that he useth no  
 15 unseemely gestures, whereby there may no suspition of jealousie or any exception bee taken by any thing hee doth: it behoveth every woman to have a great regard to her behaviour, and to keepe her selfe out of the fire, knowing that a woman of suspected chastity liveth but  
 20 in a miserable case, for there is but small difference by being naught, and being thought naught, and when she heareth other women ill spoken of, let her thinke in her mind what may be spoken of her; for when a woman hath gotten an ill name, whether it bee deservedly or  
 25 without cause, yet shee shall have much adoe to recover againe her honour and credite thereof: let a woman avoyde so much as may bee the company of a woman which hath an ill name, for many of them indeavour by their evill fashions and dishonest speech, to bring others  
 30 to doe as they do, and many of them wish in their hearts that all women were like unto themselves: it may be sayd  
 of

a. FG: confirme.



of many women that the feathers are more worth then  
 the birds; therefore it behooveth every woman to behave  
 her selfe so sober<sup>a</sup> and chaste<sup>b</sup> in countenance and speech,  
 that no man may bee so bold as to assaile her: for com-  
 5 monly Castles, if they come once to parlie,<sup>c</sup> are at point to  
 yeeld; therefore if a woman by chance bee set upon, let  
 her make this answere, When I was a maid, I was at the  
 disposition of my parents, but now that I am married, I am  
 at the pleasure of my husband, therefore you were best  
 10 speake to him, and to know his mind what I shall doe; &  
 if her husband be out of the way, let her alwayes behave  
 herselfe as if he were present.

Also a woman may consider, if her husband be cho-  
 lericke and hasty, she must overcome him with milde  
 15 speech,<sup>d</sup> and if he chide she must holde her peace, for the  
 answere of a milde woman is silence, and shee must stay to  
 utter her mind untill hee be appeased of his fury, and at  
 quiet, for if women many times would hold their  
 tongues they might be at quiet. There was a very angry  
 20 couple married together, and a friend being with them  
 at supper, asked them how they could agree together  
 being both so froward and testy: the good man made him  
 this answer, When I am angry my wife beareth with me,  
 and when shee is angry I beare with her, for with what  
 25 heart can a man so much as touch a haire of his wives  
 head? (I meane rigorously)<sup>e</sup> for the husband ought to  
 rebuke her with<sup>f</sup> wordes secretly, and seeke to reforme  
 her by good counsell, he ought to lay before her the  
 shame of ill doing, and the prayse of well doing, if this  
 30 will not serve, yet he ought rather patiently to forbear  
 her, then rigorously to beate her, for she is flesh of his  
 flesh,

a. DEFGIJKLMNQPORS: soberly.

b. DEFGIJKLMNQPORS: chastely.

c. LM: partly.

d. DEFGIJKLMNQPORS: speeches.

e. LM: righteously; NOPQ: rigorously; RS: righteously.

f. E: 'such' added; FGIJKLMNQPORS: 'such' deleted, 'kind'  
 substituted.

flesh & there is no man so foolish as to hurt his owne flesh,  
 a man ought to be a comforter of his wife, but then hee  
 ought not to be a tormenter of her, for with what face can  
 a man imbrace that body which his hands have battered  
 5 & bruised? or with what hart can a woman love that man  
 which can finde in his hart to beat her?

Also when a man findeth a painefull and a careful wo-  
 man, which knoweth when to spend, and when to spare,  
 and to keepe the house in good order, then the husband  
 10 will not deny such a wife any necessary thing belonging  
 to the house: but if shee be a light huswife<sup>a</sup> who liveth  
 without doing of any thing, without caring for husband,  
 children or servants, or any other thing<sup>b</sup> belonging to the  
 house, thereby shewing, although her body bee in the  
 15 house, yet her mind is abroad, which redowndeth to her  
 shame, & to her husbands great hinderance, for when the  
 Mistresse is occupyed in vanity, the servants care lesse<sup>c</sup> for  
 her profite, but looke to<sup>d</sup> their own, for while the Mistresse  
 playeth, the mayden strayeth.<sup>e</sup>

20 But these<sup>f</sup> men are to be laughed at, who having a wife  
 & a sufficient wife<sup>g</sup> to do all the worke within<sup>h</sup> dores, which  
 belongs for a woman to doe, yet the husband will set hens  
 abroad, season the potte, and dresse the meat, or any the  
 like worke which belongeth not to the man. Such hus-  
 25 bands many times offend their wives greatly, and they  
 wrong themselves; for if they were employed abroad in  
 matters belonging to men, they would be the more desi-  
 rous being once come home to take their ease, then to trouble  
 their wives and servants in meddling with their matters,  
 30 for the rule and governement of the house belongeth to  
 the wife.

And

a. RS: 'but...huswife' omitted.

b. FGHIJKLMNOPQRS: 'thing' omitted.

c. CD: carelesse; EFGHIJKLMNOPQRS: are carelesse.

d. NOPQRS: 'to' omitted.

e. LM: starveth; NOPQRS: stayeth.

f. QRS: with a sufficient wit.

g. RS: without.

h. DEFGHIJKLMNOPQRS: and not.

And he that hath a wife of his owne, and goeth to another woman, is like a rich theefe which will steale<sup>a</sup> when he hath no need.

Amongst all the creatures that God hath created,  
 5 there is none more subject to misery then a woman, especially those that are fruitfull to beare children, for they<sup>b</sup> have scarce a months rest in a whole yeare, but are continually overcome with paine, sorrow & feare, as indeed the danger of child-bearing must needs bee a great terror to women, which are counted but weake vessels, in  
 10 respect of men, and yet it is supposed that there is no disease that a man indureth, that is one half so grievous or painful as child-bearing to a woman: Let it be toothache, goute or collicke; nay if a man had all these at once,  
 15 yet nothing comparable to a<sup>c</sup> womans paine in her travell with child.

Now if thou like not my reasons to expell love, then thou mayest trie Ovids art, who prescribes a salve for such a sore; for he counsels those which feelee this horrible  
 20 heate, to coole their flames with hearbes which are cold of nature, as Rew and Lettis, & other hearbes too long to recite: also he sayth, thou shouldest abstaine from excesse of meate and drinke, for that provokes thy mind greatly to lust: also to hunt, to hawke, to shoot, to bowle,<sup>d</sup>  
 25 to run, to wrastle, and some other play, for this will keepe thy mind from thinking of lust: also shun slothfulnes and idlenesse, for these are the onely nurses of love, eschew melancholy or sadnesse, and keepe merry company, turne thy eyes from the place where bewitching spirites are,  
 30 lest the remembrance doe increase, and rubbe thy galled mind: also to eschew the place where thou didst first  
 I feelee

a. LM: stealeth; NOPQRS: will steale.

b. G: thy.

c. E: 'a' omitted.

d. PQRS: 'to bowl' omitted.

feele the fire that burneth thy mind with such unquiet  
 thoughts. Likewise, saith he, beware thou doe not twise  
 peruse the secret flattering letters of thy supposed friend-  
 ly joy; for if thou doe not refuse the often view thereof, it  
 5 will much increase thy griefe, dolour and annoy; use no  
 talke of her whom thou lovest, nor once name her; for  
 that will increase thy care, by thinking in thy minde,  
 that thou beholdest her face: but some are perswaded  
 that no rules of reason can assuage this griefe, for love  
 10 is lawlesse, and obeyes no law, no nor yet no counsell  
 can perswade, nor take effect, or subdue the affection of  
 his bewitched spirits. Furthermore, Ovid prescribes o-  
 ther reasons to expell the heate of love for where love is  
 settled, the lovers are many times hindered of their pur-  
 15 pose: sometimes for want of friends consent, or distance  
 of place; then & in such a case, his counsell is to love two  
 or three, for love being so divided, makes the love of  
 one the lesse thought upon: or else, sayeth he, satisfie thy  
 lust upon some other dame, for it will also helpe to weare  
 20 the former love out of thy mind. Loe<sup>a</sup> thus Ovid shott,<sup>b</sup>  
 but yet hee mist the marke, not for want of learning, but  
 for want of grace, for grace subdues and treads all vices  
 under foot, although mortall meanes doth prescribe di-  
 vers other diets to waste the heate<sup>c</sup> of loves desire, as  
 25 long absence from the place where thy liking lives, for  
 the coales of company<sup>d</sup> doth<sup>e</sup> kindle and heate the heart,  
 that with absence would be voyde of harme, for absence  
 doth quellifie that fire, and coole the mindes of those  
 which many times the company of wantons doth<sup>f</sup> warm;  
 30 for he which doth not shun the place where Venus in her  
 glory sits, hath no care of himselfe, but suffers her to sup-  
 prize his wits. The

a. PQRS: 'Loe' omitted.

b. PQRS: taught.

c. LMN: heart.

d. EFGIJKLMNOPQRS: comfort.

e. I: doe; JK: doth; LMNOPQRS: do.

f. I: doe; JKLMNOPQRS: doth.

The Bearebayting, or the vanity of widdowes; choose  
you whether.

- 5 **W**oe be unto that unfortunate man that match-  
 eth himselfe unto a widdow; for a widdow  
 will be the cause of a thousand woes: yet there  
 are many that doe wish themselves no worse matched  
 then to a rich widdow; but thou doest not know what  
 griefes thou joynest with thy<sup>a</sup> gaines; for if shee be rich,  
 10 shee will looke to governe, and if shee be poore, then art  
 thou plagued both with beggery and bondage: againe,  
 thy paines will be double, in regard of him which mar-  
 rieth with a maid; for thou must unlearne thy widdow,  
 and make her forget her former corrupt and disordered  
 15 behaviour, the which if thou take upon thee to doe, thou  
 hadst even as good undertake to wash a Blackamore  
 white; for commonly widdowes are so froward, so was-  
 pish, and so stubborne, that thou canst not wrest them  
 from their willes, and if thou thinke to make her good by  
 20 stripes, thou must beate her to death. One having mar-  
 ried with a froward widdow, she called him thiefe<sup>b</sup> & ma-  
 ny other unhappy names; so hee tooke her, and cut the  
 tongue out of her head; but she ever afterwards would  
 make the signe of the gallows with her fingers to him.  
 25 It is seldome or never seene that a man marrieth with  
 a widdow for her beauty, nor for her personage, but onely  
 for her wealth and riches; and if she be rich & beautifull  
 withall, then thou matcheth thy selfe to a she-Devill, for  
 she will go like a Peacocke, and thou like a Woodcocke;  
 30 for she will hide her money to maintaine her pride: &  
 if thou at any time art desirous to bee merry in her com-  
 pany,

I 2

a. EFG: the.

b. CDEFGIJK: theefe; LMNO: these; PQRS: 'these and many other'  
 deleted.

pany, she will say thou art merry, because thou hast gotten a wife that is able to maintaine thee, where before thou wast a begger, and hadst nothing: and if thou shew thy selfe sad, she will say, thou art sad because thou canst not  
 5 bury her, thereby to injoy that which shee hath: if thou make provision to fare well in thy house, she will bid thee spend that which thou broughtest in thy selfe.

If thou shew thy selfe sparing, she will say thou shalt not pinch her of that which is her owne, and if thou doe  
 10 any thing contrary<sup>a</sup> to her mind, she will say, her other husband was more kind: if thou chance to dine from home, she will bid thee go sup with thy Harlots abroad: if thou go abroad and spend any thing before thou comest home, she will say a begger I found thee, and a beg-  
 15 ger thou meanest to leave me: if thou stay alwayes at home, she will say thou art happy that hast gotten a wife that is able to maintaine thee idle: if thou carve her the best morsell on the table, though shee take it, yet shee will take it scornefully, and say, she had a husband that would  
 20 let her cut where she liked her selfe.

And if thou come in well disposed, thinking to be merry, and intreating her with fayre words, she will call thee dissembling hypcorite, saying, thou speakest me faire with thy tongue, but thy heart is on thy minions<sup>b</sup> abroad. Loe  
 25 these are the franticke trickes of froward widdowes, they are neyther well full nor fasting, they will neyther goe to Church nor stay at home, I meane in regard of their impatient mindes; for a man shall never bee quiet in her sight, nor out of her sight, for if thou be in her sight, she  
 30 will vexee thee as before said; & out of her sight thy owne conscience will torment and trouble thy mind to thinke  
 on

a. LM: contray.

b. PQRS: whores.

on the purgatory which perforce thou must indure, when thou comest home.

She will make Clubs trumpe, when thou hast never a blacke card in thy hand, for with her cruell tongue shee  
 5 will ring thee such a peale, that one would thinke the Devill were come from Hell; besides this, thou shalt have a brended slut like a Hell-hagge, with a paire of pappes like a paire of dung-pots shall bring in thy dinner, for thy widdow will not trust thee with a wench that is handsome  
 10 in thy house: now if that upon just occasion thou throwest the platters at the<sup>a</sup> maids head, seeing thy meat brought in by such a slutte, and so sluttishly drest, then will thy widdow take pepper in the nose, and stamp and stare, and looke so sower, as if shee had come but even then from  
 15 eating of Crabs, saying, If thou hadst not married with me thou wouldst have beene glad of the worst morsell that is here: then thou againe replying, sayest, If I had not beene so mad, the Devill himselfe would not have had thee; and then without cause thou biamest her of  
 20 olde age and of jealousie, and for hiding her money, & for conveying away of her goods which thou hast bought<sup>b</sup> with the displeasure of thy friends, and discredite to thy selfe, in regard of her yeares; then againe, shee on the other side runneth out to her neighbours, and there she  
 25 thundereth out a thousand injuries that thou doest her, saying, my Corn he sendeth to the Market, and my Cattell to the Fayre; and looke what he openly findeth, he taketh by force, and what I hide secretly, he privily stealeth it away, and playeth away all my money at dice. Loe  
 30 thus he consumeth my substance, and yet hateth my person, no longer then I feede him with money, can I enjoy his  
 I 3

a. CDEFGIJKLMNOPQRS: thy.

b. K: brought; LMNOPQR: bought; S: bought.

his company, now he hath that he sought for, he giveth  
 me nothing else but froward answeres, and foule usage,  
 and yet, God knowes, of pure love I married him with  
 nothing, but now his ill husbandry is like to bring to ru-  
 5 ine both me and my children: but now all this while she  
 doth not forget to tell of her owne good huswifery, say-  
 ing, I sit working all day at my needle, or at my distaffe, &  
 he like an unthrift, and a whoremonger runneth at ran-  
 dome: thus they are alwayes stretching their debate upon  
 10 the racke of vengeance.

Loe here is a life, but it is as wearisome as hell, for  
 if you kisse in the morning, being friends, yet ere noone  
 ready to throw the house out at the<sup>a</sup> window. The Pa-  
 pists affirme, that Heaven is wonne by Purgatory, but in  
 15 my mind a man shall never come into a worse Purgato-  
 ry then to bee matched with a froward widdow. Hee  
 that matcheth himselfe to a widow and three children,  
 matcheth himselfe to foure theeves. One having mari-  
 ed with a widow, it was his lucke to bury her, but not be-  
 20 fore he was sore vexed with her, for afterwards hee lying  
 on his death-bed, his friends exhorted him to pray unto  
 God that his soule might rest in Heaven, & he asked them  
 this question, whether (said he) do you thinke my wife  
 is gone? and they said unto him, no doubt but that your  
 25 wife is gone to Heaven before you, hee replied, I care  
 not whether I goe, so I go not where my wife is, for feare  
 I meete with her and bee vexed with her as I have beene  
 heretofore.

Another having married with a widow, being one day  
 30 at a sermon, heard the Preacher say, whosoever will  
 be saved, let him take up his crosse and follow me; this  
 mad

a. FG: 'a'; I: 'a' omitted; JKLMN: 'a' emended; OPQRS: 'a'  
 omitted.



mad fellow after Sermon was ended, tooke his wife upon his backe, and came to the Preacher and said, here is my crosse, I am ready to follow thee whether thou wilt.

Another having married with a widdow which shewed  
 5 her selfe like a Saint abroad, but a Devill at home; a friend of her husbands told him, that he had gotten him a good, still and a quiet wife: yea marry, quoth the married man, you see my shooe is fayre and new, but yet you know not where it pincheth me.

10 Another merry companion having married with a widdow, & carrying<sup>a</sup> her over the Sea into France, there sodainely arose a great storme, in so much that they were all in danger of drowning; the Master of the ship called unto the marriners, and bade them take & throw over bord  
 15 all the heaviest goods in the shippe; this married man hearing him say so, he tooke his widdow, and threw her over-board; and being asked the reason why he did so, he said, that he never felt any thing in all his life that was so heavy to him as she had been.

20 Another having married with a widdow, and within a while after they were married, she went out into the garden, and there finding her husbands shirt hang close on the hedge by her maides smocke, she went presently and hanged her selfe for a jealous conceit that she tooke, and  
 25 a merry fellow asked the cause why she hanged her selfe, and being told that it was for jealousie: I would said he that all trees did beare such fruit.

Thou maiest thinke that I have spoken inough concerning Widdowes; but the further I runne after them, the  
 30 further I am from them; for they are the summe of the seaven deadly sinnes, the Fiends of Sathan, & the gates of

a. JKLMNOPQRS: carried.

of Hell. Now me thinketh I heare some say unto me, that I should have tolde them this lesson sooner, for too late commeth medicine when the<sup>a</sup> patient is dead; even so too late commeth counsell when it is past remedy, but it is  
 5 better late then never, for it may be a warning to make others wise.

But why doe I make so long a harvest of so little corne? seeing the corne is bad, my harvest shall cease; for so long as women doe ill, they must not thinke to bee wel spoken  
 10 of; If you would be well reported of, or kept like the Rose when it hath lost the colour, then you should smell sweet in the bud as the Rose doth, or if you would be tasted for old wine, you should<sup>b</sup> bee sweet at the first like a<sup>c</sup> pleasant Grape, then should you be cherished for your courtesie,  
 15 and comforted for your honesty, so should you be preserved like the sweet Rose, & esteemed of as pleasant wine, but to what purpose do I goe about to instruct you knowing that such as counsell the devill can never amend him of his evill.

20 And so praying those which have already made their choyse, and seene the troubles, and felt the torments that are with women, to take it merrily, and to esteeme of this booke onely as the toyes of an idle head.

Nor<sup>d</sup> I would not have women murmur against me for  
 25 that I have not written more bitterly against men; for it is a very hard winter when one Wolfe eateth another, and it is also an ill bird that defileth her owne nest; and a most unkind part it were for one man to speake ill of another.

# FINIS.

a. IJKLMNOPQ: 'a'; RS: 'the'.

b. LMNO: shall; PQRS: should.

c. LMNOPQRS: the.

d. QRS: And.

The three responses in the Swetnam controversy, Rachel Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus, Ester Sowernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman and Constantia Munda's The Worming of a mad Dogge are not mentioned by title in the commentary to the text. The full references to the other sources quoted in the commentary can be found in the bibliography under II. or III.1.

P.190 (A2<sup>r</sup>)

line 1] Constantia Munda, B4<sup>v</sup>, makes much word-play out of the two dedicatory epistles: 'Your idoll muse, and musung being idle (as your learned Epistle beginneth) shall bee no plea to make your viperous scandals seeme pleasing, ipse excusatio culpa est'.

'Your idoll muse shall be frankt up, for while it is at liberty, most impiously it throws durt in the face of halfe humane kinde' (B4<sup>v</sup>).

lines 4-5] Cf. Constantia Munda, B4<sup>r</sup>: 'You say in the dedication of your booke to your mistresses the common sort of women, that you had little ease to pass the time withall, but now seeing you have basely wrong'd our wearied and wurried Patience with your insolent invective madnesse, you shall make a simple conversion of your proposition, and take your pastime in little ease'.

Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.246, lines 15-16, for Swetnam's introduction.

lines 5-8] Rachel Speght, B1<sup>v</sup>: 'no better streame can we looke, should issue from your idle corrupt braine, then that whereto the ruffe of your fury (to use your owne words) hath moved you to open the sluice'.

Constantia Munda, C1<sup>r</sup>: 'you goe forward, pretending you were in great choller against some women, and in the ruffe of your furie. Grant one absurditie, a thousand follow: Alas (good Sir) wee may easily gather you were mightily transported with passion. Anger and madnesse differ but in time. Twere a pleasant sight to see you in your great standing choller [pun on 'collar'] and furious ruffe [pun on the ruffs worn in those days] together. Your choller (no doubt) was too great for a Spanish peccadillo, and your shagge ruffe seemed so greedily to set forth your ill-looking visage, that none of your shee-adversaries durst attempt to confront your follie'.

lines 8-9] Constantia Munda, C2<sup>r</sup>: 'If the ruffe of your furie would have let you lookt over it, you would have diverted the floud-gates of your poisoned streames that way where you perceived the common shore to run, and not have polluted and stained the cleere and crystalline waters'.

lines 9-10] Cf. Constantia Munda, C3<sup>r</sup>: 'True [...]: A foole speaks sometimes to the purpose'.

line 11] Proverbial; Tilley I70.

Constantia Munda, C1<sup>v</sup>: 'You shew your selfe unjust in not observing a symmetrie and proportion of revenge and the offence: for a pelting injurie should not provoke an opprobrious calumnie'.

lines 12-13] Constantia Munda, C2<sup>r</sup>: 'When women are women, when wee saile by the true compasse of honest and religious conversation, why should you be so doggedly incensed to barke in generall?'.

lines 16-22] Cf. Anthony Munday, Zelauto, p.119: 'Sir Strabino (quoth Cornelia) your discourse hath bene delightfull, yet savoureth it sharpe some where, belyke you have bene bitten, or stung by some of these waspes: and that maketh you so expert in bewraying their qualities, for the mother would never have sought her daughter in the Oven; but that she had bene there her selfe. [...] But what maketh you to exclayne against women in this order?

have you looved, and not beene looved againe? have you sought for honny, and caught the Bee by the taylor: or have you never looved, and wholly given your selfe there against?'

lines 17-18] Proverbial; Tilley H558.

lines 20-21] Proverbial; Tilley W353.

Cf. Constantia Munda, C3<sup>r</sup>: 'how politically you caught the Daughter in the oven, yet was never there your selfe'.

lines 22-26] Swetnam's claim, or stance, is the subject of continued caustic comment on the part of Constantia Munda, C3<sup>rv</sup>- D1<sup>r</sup>. She begins: 'the time had been far better spent if you had related to the world some stories of your travels, with a Gentleman learned and wiser then your selfe: so you might have beguiled the time, and exposed your ridiculous wit to laughter: you might have told how hardly such an unconstant bella curtizana de Venetijs entertained you, how your teeth watered, and after your affections were poisoned with their hainous evils' (C3<sup>r</sup>).

A marginal note refers to Thomas Coryate, the author of Coryats Crudities, hastily gobbled up in five months travels.

lines 22-26] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, C2<sup>v</sup>: 'I feare me, you commaund Love, as much as you contemne Marriage: And the greater is my suspicion, in that you are a Travailer: the nature of which sort of people, is to swell, with a monstrous disdaine of Marriage, The reason is (say they) their affections are so poysoned with the knowledge of womens so hainous evils, as they dare not venter of that vocation'.

#### P.191 (A2<sup>v</sup>)

lines 9-11] Constantia Munda, C4<sup>v</sup>: 'You will first abuse us, then binde us to the peace; wee must be tongue-tied, lest in starting up to finde fault, wee prove our selves guiltie of those horrible accusations. The sinceritie of our lives, and quietnesse of conscience, is a wall of brasse to beat backe the bullets of your vituperous scandals in your owne face'.

lines 11-13] Proverbial; Cf. Tilley H700.

Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.257, lines 7-8. This was a commonplace argument in satires on women.

Cf. Rachel Speght, B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>r</sup>: 'As for you Bugge-beare or advice unto women, that whatsoever they doe thinke of your worke, they should conceale it, lest in finding fault, they bewray their galled backs to the world; in which you allude to that Proverbe, Rubbe a galled horse, and he will kicke: Unto it, I answer by way of Apologie, that though everie galled horse, being touched, doth kicke; yet every one that kicke, is not galled: so that you might as well have said, that because burnt folks dread the fire, therefore none feare fire but those that are burnt, as made that illiterate conclusion which you have absurdly inferred'.

lines 24-25] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, H3<sup>v</sup>: 'as Plato saith, there is no woman so perfect good, but in some one point may be reprehended; nor no man so faultlesse, but that some what in him may be amended'.

line 29] Proverbial; Tilley W703.

#### P.192 (A3<sup>r</sup>)

line 1] Proverbial; Tilley E14.

Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.203, line 1.

lines 1-2] Proverbial; Tilley R84.

Cf. John Lyly, Euphues and his England, p.21, line 5.

This provides another butt for Constantia Munda's ridicule, E2<sup>r</sup>: 'whereas you say it is a great discredit for a man to bee accounted a scold [...],

observe but what conclusion demonstratively follows these premises:

'A man that is accounted a scold, hath great discredit,  
Joseph Swetnam is accounted a scold  
Ergo, Joseph hath great discredit'.

line 5] The cucking-stool was an instrument of punishment which was also in use for scolds. The offenders were originally placed in the chair and exposed to public ridicule. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, offenders were fastened in the chair and ducked in a pond or river, the number of duckings having been previously determined by the magistrates.

lines 11-13] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.182, line 30, p.183, line 1.

lines 12-14] Ibid., p.207, lines 19-20.

Constantia Munda, D2<sup>v</sup>, harps upon the theme of filial ingratitude: 'Is there no reverence to be given to your mother beacuse you are weaned from her teat, and never more to be fedde with her pappe? [...] is this the requittal of all her cost, charge, care, and unspeakable paines she suffered in in the producing of such a monster into the light?'

lines 14-16] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.202, lines 29-30.

Constantia Munda, D1<sup>r</sup>, deliberately echoes Swetnam in her praise of Rachel Speght to mock Swetnam: 'who hath most gravely (to speake in your owne language) unfoulded every pleat, and shewed every rinckle of a prophane and brutish disposition'.

lines 16-17] Proverbial; Tilley S380.

lines 16-18] Cf. Anthony Munday, Zelauto, p.127: 'Why Lady (quoth he) I am not so farre over shooes: but I may returne yet drie, nor am I not so far in, but I may easily escape out'.

lines 24-26] An allusion to a form of punishment imposed on moral offenders, which obliged the culprit to perform public penance by placing him near the chancel door of the church, his face turned towards the congregation (see F.G. Emmison, Elizabethan Life: Disorder, Chelmsford 1970, p.43).

The Puritan writer Philip Stubbes obviously did not think that this punishment had any great moral impact on the offenders, cf. The Anatomie of Abuses, I2<sup>v</sup>: 'For what a great thying it is, to goe two or three daies in a white sheete, or els in a Cope (a ridiculous kind of punishmente) before the Congregation, and that sometymes not past an hower or two in a daie, havynge their usuall garmentes underneath, as commonly they have'.

lines 26-27] This statement provokes Speght's indignation, B3<sup>r</sup>: 'Further, if your owne words be true, that you wrote with your hand, but not with your heart, then you are a hypocrite in Print: but it is rather to be thought [...] that this was but a little mortar to dawbe up agayne the wall, which you intended to breake downe'.

Constantia Munda, E2<sup>v</sup>, is merely scornful: 'you professe you wrote this booke with your hand, but not with your heart; whereas but just now you confest yourselfe to deale after the manner of a shrew, [A3<sup>r</sup>, lines 2-3] which cannot otherwise ease your curst heart, but by your unhappy tongue: so your hand hath proved your unhappy tongue a lier'.

lines 28-29] Proverbial; Tilley W582.

#### P.193 (A3<sup>v</sup>)

lines 4-6] Constantia Munda, D2<sup>v</sup>-D3<sup>r</sup>: 'mee thinkes it is a pleasing revenge that thy soule arraines thee at the barre of conscience, and thy distracted mind cannot chuse but hant thee like a bumbyllie to serve a subpoena on thee'.

lines 6-7] Proverbial; Tilley E207.

lines 8-9] Proverbial; Tilley W419.

lines 8-10] Cf. Anthony Munday, Zelauro, p.126: 'Ah Sir (quoth Cornelia) is the winde in that doore now? are you Sea sicke so soone, and not halfe a myle over?'

lines 10-11] Ibid., p.123: 'I must confesse my tongue ran before my wyt, and my mouth uttered that which my heart never thought'.

lines 15-17] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues and his England, p.189, lines 25-28.

line 15] Constantia Munda, C3<sup>v</sup>: 'Certainly you mis-spent your time in your travels: for it had bene more profitable for you, if you had brought dogges from iceland: better for your Countrey, if you had kept a dogge there still'.

lines 19-20] Probably an allusion to the commendation of wise and vertuous women.

Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.257, lines 8-10.

P.194 (A4<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-4] The dedication resembles similar advice in marriage guidance books. Cf. Alexander Niccholes, Of Marriage and Wiving, in the dedication: 'To the Youth and Batchelary of England, hote blouds at high Revels, which fore-thought of this action and all other, that hereafter intend this adventure'.

Rachel Speght, B1<sup>v</sup>, mimics Swetnam's dedication in her Preface: 'Not unto the veriest Ideot that ever set Pen to Paper, but to the cynicall Bayter of Women, or metamorphosed Misogunes, Joseph Swetnam'.

Constantia Munda, E1<sup>v</sup>, also comments on the dedication: 'Mee thinkes, when you wrote your second Epistle, neither to the wisest Clerke, nor yet to the starkest foole, the giddinesse of your head bewrays you to be both a sillie Clerke, and a starke foole: or els the young men you write to must be much troubled with the megrim and the dizzinesse of the braine: for you beginne as if you were wont to runne up and downe the Countrey with Beares at your taile'.

line 5] All three respondents comment on Swetnam's use of imagery. Rachel Speght, B2<sup>r</sup>, is characteristically the most indignant of the three: 'In that you have termed your virulent foame, the Bear-bayting of Women, you have plainely displayed your owne disposition to be Cynicall, in that there appears no other Dogge or Bull, to bayte them, but your selfe. Good had it bene for you to have put on that Muzzell, which Saint James would have all Christians to weare; Speake not evill one of another.

Ester Sovernam, G2<sup>r</sup>, ridicules the inadequacy of Swetnam's invective: 'This author commeth to baite women, or as hee foolishly sayth, the Beare bayting of Women, and he bringeth but a mungrell Curre, who doth his kinde, to braule and barke, but cannot bite'.

Constantia Munda, D4<sup>r</sup>, also passes scorn on Swetnam's ignorance: 'you have of all things under the sunne, selected the bayting, or as you make a silly solacisme the bearebayting of Women, to be the tenterhookes whereon to stretch your shallow inventions'.

lines 6-7] Swetnam's imagery is derived from a popular pastime which was to become offensive to refined taste in the second part of the seventeenth century. 'To speak Bear-garden' became proverbial for rude and uncivilized speech, cf. Tilley B146.

lines 10-13] Cf. Plutarch, Morals, Eee2<sup>v</sup>: 'What is the cause, that when they sacrifice unto Hercules, they name no other God but him, nor suffer a dog to be seene, within the purprise [enclosure] and precinct of the place where the sacrifice is celebrated [...]?

Now of all other beasts he could worst abide a dog, and hated him most: for this creature put him to more trouble all his life time, than any other: witnesse whereof, the three-headed dog Cerberus'.

lines 13-15] Swetnam's contradictions in this passage are the occasion for further sarcasm on the part of Constantia Munda, E1<sup>V</sup>-E2<sup>F</sup>: 'so that none but your selfe the ill-favoured Hunckes is left in the Beare-garden to make your invited guests merry'.

lines 14-17] Cf. Anthony Munday, Zelauto, pp.126-7: 'well, well, this little sparke will flame to so fierce a fire: that perhaps all the wit you have is not able to quench it'.

lines 20-22] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.183, lines 6-8.

lines 23-24] Constantia Munda, E2<sup>F</sup>, ridicules Swetnam's ignorance: 'Cerberus that hell-hound appeared, and you bit off one of his heads; for [...] you call him the two-headed dogge, whom all the Poets would faine to have three heads'.

lines 24-25] The twelfth labour of Hercules involved carrying Cerberus from the underworld. Theseus tried unsuccessfully to carry off Proserpine, and had to be rescued by Hercules.

lines 25-26] The first instance of the figurative use of this word recorded in OED is in John Hall's Horae Vacivae, 37 (London, 1646): 'we leane on the bulrush of our merits'.

line 26] There is no trace of a sequel to The Araignment in SR or STC. Rachel Speght, who reflects on the controversy in her poem Mortalities Memorandum (see 3.2.2) does not refer to a second book by Swetnam.

lines 27-30] Constantia Munda, F2<sup>F</sup>: 'You threaten your second volley of powder and shot, wherin you will make us snakes, venemous adders, and Scorpions, & I know not what; are these terms beseeming the mouth of a Christian'['?].

#### P.195 (A4<sup>V</sup>)

line 1] See A4<sup>F</sup>, lines 27-30.

line 4] Proverbial; Tilley W384.

line 5] Proverbial; Tilley C751.

lines 8-9] Proverbial; Cf. Tilley F394.

lines 14-15] Proverbial; Tilley B208.

lines 18-20] Constantia Munda, E2<sup>V</sup>: 'your booke (which if you might be your owne Judge, deserves no more the name of a booke, then a Colliers Jade to be a Kings Steed) [is] the fruit of an unhappie tongue'.

lines 21-25] Cf. Anthony Munday, Zelauto, p.61: 'So who but readeth the beginning of a booke: can give no judgement of the sequel ensuing. The Fryer in the middle of his sermon, cryed the best was behind: and I having tolde you a peece of a tale, say the finest followeth. So, if that you beholde Janus perfectly: you shall see his deformednesse, and if you see all partes of the Siren: you shall finde the alteration, lykewise if you reade all the booke: you shall not be deluded by (the best is behinde) but so to reprehende mine excuse'.

line 25] Proverbial; Tilley B318.

lines 25-26] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.213, lines 23-24.

#### P.196 (B1<sup>F</sup>)

lines 1-4] Ester Sovernam, E1<sup>F</sup>: 'Joseph Swetnam in his Pamphlet aggravateth the offences of women in the highest degree, not onely exceeding, but drawing men into all mischief. If I do grant, that woman degenerating from the true end of womanhood, proove the greatest offenders, yet in graunting that, I doe thereby prove that women in their creation are the most excellent creatures: for corruption, boni pessima, the best thing corrupted

proveth the worst'.

lines 5-12] Rachel Speght, F2<sup>r</sup>: 'as one devoid of all true feare of Gods indignation against wilfull sinners (for as ignorance doth sometimes extenuate a fault, so doth knowledge much aggravate it) he hath made the exordium of his braine-sicke exhalation against women, to be a perverting of a part of holy Writ'.

Ester Sowernam, F3<sup>v</sup>, also comments on the introduction: 'Marke a ridiculous jeast in this: spending and consuming of that which Man painfully getteth, is by this Author the use for which Women were made' (B1<sup>v</sup>-B2<sup>r</sup>). She then points out the contradiction contained in the sub-title of Chapter 1 ('most of them degenerate from the use they were framed unto'), and accuses him of 'horrible blasphemy', a charge which she repeats in Swetnam's 'Indictment'.

lines 15-16] The argument of the 'crooked rib' was commonplace in satires on women, cf. [Edward Gosynhill], The Scholehouse of Women (1560), B4<sup>r</sup>: 'Crooked it was, stiff and sturdy,/ And that would bend no manner of way,/ Of Nature like, I dare well say/ Of that condition all women be'.

lines 14-17] Ester Sowernam, B2<sup>rv</sup>, turns the joke against Swetnam: 'Joseph Swetnam was made as from Adam of dust and clay, so he is of a durty and muddy disposition: The inferences are both alike in either. Woman is no more crooked, in respect of the one; but he is blasphemous in respect of the other [...] Admit that this Authors doctrine bee true, that woman receiveth her froward and crooked disposition from the rib, Woman may then conclude upon that Axiome in Philosophy, Quicquid efficit tale, illud est magis tale. That which giveth quality to a thing, doth more abound in that quality [...] So, if Woman received her crookednesse from the ribe, and consequently from the Man, how doth man excell in crookednesse, who hath more of those crooked ribs? See how this vaine, furious, and idle Author furnisheth woman with an Argument against himselfe, and others of his Sexe'.

lines 18-19] Ester Sowernam, F1<sup>r</sup>: 'If you had then said, she had no sooner eaten of the fruit, but her heart was set upon mischief, you had had some colour for your speeches; not in respect of the womans disposition, but in consideration both of her first Tutor and her second instructor'.

All three respondents echo a familiar charge against detractors of women, that they distort biblical sense to suit their purposes.

lines 21-22] An appeal to Christian conscience from Ester Sowernam, B2<sup>v</sup>: 'Now let the Christian Reader please to consider how dishonestly this Authour dealeth, who undertaking a particular, prosecuteth and persecuteth a general, under the cloake and colour of lewd, idle, and froward women, to rage and raile against all women in general'.

lines 30-31] Constantia Munda, E3<sup>r</sup>: 'you falsly averre, that the blessed Patriarke David exclaimed bitterly against women, and like the tempting devill you alledge halfe Scripture, whereas the whole makes against your selfe'.

P.197 (B1<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-4] Cf. Francis Meres, Palladis Tamia, s.v. 'A Wife', S3<sup>r</sup>: 'As it is dangerous to dwell with a Dragon and Lion; so it is perillous to remaine with a malitious wife. Eccles.25.'

As it is wearisome for an olde man to climbe up a sandie hill: so it is irkesome for a quiet man to abide with a brawling wife. Eccles.25'.

Constantia Munda, E3<sup>rv</sup>: 'for thus you affirme he saith; It is better to be a doore-keeper, than to be in the house with a froward woman. In the whole volume of the booke of God, much lesse in the Psalmes, is there any such bitter exclamation?' After quoting the proper passage from the psalms, she



concludes: 'Now if you have a private spirit that may interpret by enthusiasmes, you may confine the Tabernacles of the ungodly onely to froward women; which how absurd and grosse it is, let the reader judge'.

lines 10-26] Cf. Antonio de Guevara, The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius, L12<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>: 'The bull is closed in the parke; the brydell ruleth the horse, a lyttell hooke catcheth the fysshe, and the wolfe suffreth to be tyed: only a woman is a beast unable to be tamed, and never loseth hyr boldnes for any thing that is commaunded hyr, nor the brydell, for not being commaunded [...] But I saie to you my ladies: There is no spurres that can make you goe, nor raynes that can hold you, nor brydell that can refraine you, nor angle or net that can take you: and finally there is no lawe that can subdue you, nor shame restrayne you, nor feare abashe you, nor chastisement amend you. O to what an yll adventure putteth he hym selfe, that thynkeh to rule and correct you, For if ye take an opinion in hande, all the world shall not drawe you from it: if a manne tell or warne you of any thyng, ye will never beleewe him: if one geve you good counsell, ye will not take it, if one threaten you, anone ye complayne: if one flatter you, than ye waxe prowde: if one rejoyce not in you, ye are spitefull: if one forbear you, it maketh you bolde: if ye be chastised, ye tourne to serpent: Finally a woman will never forgive any injurie, nor give thanks for any good deede'.

Constantia Munda, D2<sup>rv</sup>, uses logic to accuse Swetnam of filial ingratitude in this passage: 'I have learnt so much Logicke to know [...] whatsoever is spoken or praedicated of the kinde is spoken or praedicated of every one in the same kinde'. She then proceeds to substitute 'my mother' for 'a woman' and concludes: 'Is it not a comely thing to heare a Sonne speake thus of his mother[?]'.

lines 25-26] Rachel Speght, F3<sup>r</sup>: 'If it bee true, asse you affirme, Pag.2.line 26, That women will not give thanks for a good turne. I demand whether Deborah and Hannah were not women, who both of them sang hymnes of thankesgiving unto the Lord; the one for his mercy in granting her victory over Israels enemies, the other for his favourable giving unto her a son, which she full oft and earnestly had desired?'.

lines 30-31] Proverbs 23, 26-35.

Ester Sowernam, F2<sup>r</sup>, contends this would rather argue against men than women: 'Joseph Swetnam, a man which hath reason, will never object that unto his adversary, which when it commeth to examination will disadvantage himselfe. Your meaning is, in the disgrace of women to exalt men: but is this any commendation to men, that they have been and are over-reacht by women? [...] can you excuse that fall which is given by the weaker?'.

Marriage guidance books and wedding sermons invariably stressed the husband's duty in guiding and assisting his wife who, being weaker, was presented as in need of continual moral support.

Cf. Henry Smith, A Preparative to Marriage, F3<sup>v</sup>: '[a husband] 'must not looke to finde a wife without a fault, but thinke that she is committed to him to reclaime her from her faults'.

P.198 (B2<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-4] Cf. Francis Meres, Palladis Tamia, G4<sup>r</sup>: 'As pumice stones are light and full of holes; so are those women that have as many lovers, as their heartes have entrances for love'.

lines 8-12] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, B2<sup>r</sup>, where a woman is compared 'unto the Sea, which (one while) is so milde, as a smal Gundelo indureth her anon, with outrage she overwhelmeth the tallest ship'.

lines 13-26] Ester Sowernam reproduces the fable of the sun and the wind in verse (F4<sup>v</sup>-G1<sup>v</sup>) and ridicules Swetnam for wrongly applying its moral: 'it

ever hath been applyed to men, to instruct them in the government of woman' (F4<sup>v</sup>).

Cf. John Lyly, Euphues and his England, p.224, lines 7-19, which reproduces the conclusion of the fable in this sense. Francis Meres in Palladis Tamia (S2<sup>v</sup>-S3<sup>f</sup>), however, also applies the moral to women. He refers to Plutarch's Morals, where it occurs under the heading The Precepts of Wedlocke, Dd3<sup>f</sup>. In the Morals, the moral applies to men, as Sowernam pointed out.

line 30] Proverbial; Tilley W887.

Constantia Munda, G4<sup>r</sup>-E1<sup>r</sup>, heaps scorn on Swetnam's use of proverbs: 'Is it not irksome to a wise and discreet judgement, to heare a booke stuff with such sense as this, The world is not made of oatmeale? I have heard of some that thought the world to have been composed of atomes, never any that thought it made of oatmeale. [...] None above the scum of the world could endure with patience to reade such a medley composed of discord'.

line 31] Proverbial; Tilley A146.

#### P.199 (B2<sup>v</sup>)

line 1] Proverbial; Tilley W172. The earliest instance of this proverb listed in Tilley dates to 1616.

lines 2-5] Swetnam here echoes contemporary writers on marriage. Cf. William Whately, author of A Care-cloth, E7<sup>f</sup>: 'it fals out many times, that rash and undiscreete youths (finding a little trouble, in being subject to their parents and Masters) entertaine a strong conceite, how happily they should live, if they were married. Thence [...] by and by they runne together, come of it what will, and afterwards wish bootlessly, that they had entertained their former estate with more contentednesse'.

line 8] Proverbial; Tilley B602.

line 13] Proverbial; Tilley G260.

line 13-19] Cf. Nicholas Ling, Politeuphia, s.v. 'Of Women', D8<sup>v</sup>: 'Womens faces are lures, their beauties baits, their lookes nets, and their words enticing charmes'.

Ester Sowernam, F3<sup>f</sup>, returns Swetnam's claim: 'Are external & dumbe shews such potent baits, nets, lures, charmes, to bring men to ruine? [...] Let me see how you can free these men from dishonest mindes, who are overtaken thus with beautie, &c. How can beautie hurt? how can it be a cause of mans ruine, of itself? [...] if they be causes, they are but accidental causes: A cause as Philosophers say, causa sine qua non'. She concludes: 'Might not a man as easily, and more honestly, when he seeth a faire woman [...], rather glorifie God in so beautifull a worke, then infest his soule with so lascivious a thought?'.

lines 20-22] Proverbial; Tilley H657. One of the few occasions on which Swetnam explicitly refers to his use of proverbs and proverbial phrases.

Although Swetnam refers to this proverb as 'old', Tilley's first reference is to Guazzo's The Civile Conversation (1581).

lines 22-24] Rachel Speght, F3<sup>v</sup>, quotes the biblical examples of Abigail (1 Samuel 25, 3 and 18) and Rebecca (Genesis 24, 16-18) to prove Swetnam wrong: 'You therein shew your selfe a contradictor of Scriptures presidents: For Abigail was a beautifull woman, and tender-hearted; Rebekah was both faire of face and pittifull. Many examples serving to confute your universal rule might bee produced, but these are sufficient to dispell this your cloud of untruth'. Her response is the most religious of the three: 'As for your audacitie in judging of womens thoughts, you thereby shew your selfe an usurper against the king of heaven, the true knowledge of cogitations being appropriate to him alone'.

line 28] The first edition reads 'Xerxes'. In the 1634 edition this is amended to 'Circes'.

line 30] Proverbial; cf. Tilley J37: 'Like Janus, two-faced'. 'Magus' may be a wrong reading for Janus, but it is left uncorrected in subsequent reprints.

lines 30-31] See B3<sup>r</sup>, lines 1-2.

#### P.200 (B3<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-2] Proverbial; cf. Tilley M1258.

Although Swetnam reproduces the correct moral of Aesop's fable, the reference to the satyr is incorrect. Cf. The Works of William Bullokar, vol. iv: Aesops Fablz 1585, ed. J.R. Turner in Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series 1, 1969, lines 5233-55.

lines 3-4] Proverbial; Tilley L454. Rachel Speght, F3<sup>v</sup>, thinks it a great pity 'that afore you were borne, there was none so wise as to counsell your father not to meddle with a woman [...]. As also that hee might not have begotten such a monster in nature Asse your selfe'.

lines 5-6] 1 Corinthians 7.38.

line 8] Proverbial; cf. Tilley N69.

lines 11-19] Constantia Munda, E3<sup>v</sup>, accuses Swetnam of misrepresenting the Greek philosophers: 'The quirkes and crotchets of your own pragmaticall pate, you father on those ancient Philosophers that most extremely oppose your conceit of marriage'. She refers to Plato's laws concerning marriage, and concludes: 'What more divinely or religiously could be spoken by a Paynim? How then durst you say that the Philosophers that lived in the old time had so hard an opinion of marriage, that they tooke no delight therein, seeing the chiefe of them were married themselves?'

lines 13-16] The ancient philosopher was Diogenes according to Erasmus, Apophthegmes q4<sup>v</sup>: 'To one demanding when best season wer[e] to wedde a wife: for a young manne, [said] he; it is too soone, and for an old manne over late'.

lines 16-19] Cf. Nicholas Ling, Politeuphia, s.v. 'Of Mariage', Aa2<sup>v</sup>: 'A woman bringeth a man two joyfull daies, the first her marriage, the second her death. Stobaeus.

lines 21-22] Cf. Erasmus, Apophthegmes, K4<sup>v</sup>: 'At all tymes whensoever was made any mention of these three [Augustus's daughter, grandchild and Agrippa], he would customably crye out with this verse of Homer [...]: 'Oh would god, would god, that my chance had beene, / To live single, and dye without childre[n]'.

line 23] Constantia Munda, E3<sup>v</sup>, attacks Swetnam's ignorance and presumption in his 'pitifully wronging Plato, and Aristotle, &c. whom your illiterate and clownish Muse never was so happy to know whether they wrote anything or no'.

lines 23-31] Cf. Erasmus, Apophthegmes, Cl<sup>rv</sup>: 'Beeeing asked by a certain you[n]g man[n]e, whether of these twoo thynges he thought better for hym, to marrye a wife, or not to marrye: whether of bothe thou dooe (said he) it will turne the to dolour. Signifying as well to live out of wedlocke; as to live in matrimonie, to have disquietynges & vexacions an[n]exed unto it, the which vexacions utterly to endure, it was necessarie to prepare the mynd afore. To living a single life is annexed to solitarynes or lacke of compaignie, lacke of issue, utter decaying and wearyng out of the name, a straunger to inherite your gooddes & possessions, after your decease. With matrimonie com[m]eth carefulnes without ende, cof[n]tynual quetyng and complayning, to bee caste in the teethe and to have dayly in your disshe the dowrie that your wife brought with hir, the soure browbending of your wifes kinfolkes, the tattelyng

tounge of your wifes moother, lyers in wayte to make the[e] cuckolde, the doubtful ende or prouf and uncertaintee what your children shall come to, with other incommodities and displeasures innumerable'.

line 29] Proverbial; Tilley T155.

P.201 (B3<sup>v</sup>)

lines 4-8] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.248, lines 25-32.

lines 13-18] Cf. Robert Greene, Greenes Farewell to Folly, K3<sup>r</sup>: 'for better aunswere to thy question, take the replie of Metellus to Pyso, that asked him why hee married his sonne being so young, and before hee was wise: Because Pyso, quoth hee, if my sonne growe to be wise, he will never marrie'.

lines 19-21] Ibid., K3<sup>r</sup>: 'what doest thinke of him that is married? That hee is, quoth he, arested with a grievous action, for no doubt young gentlemen shoulde flie up to heaven, if they were not kept backe with such an arrest'.

line 29] Proverbial; Tilley M1146.

lines 3)-31] Proverbial; cf. Tilley T97.

P.202 (B4<sup>r</sup>)

line 4] Proverbial; Tilley L483. cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.197, line 33.

lines 6-10] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.248, lines 33-36.

lines 14-20] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, I3<sup>r</sup>: 'Is she beautifull? then she is withall (lightly) proud, and the pride of a woman (saith Perlander) is like unto a Dropsey; for as drinke encreaseth the drouth of the one, so (saith he) cost enlargeth the expense of the other: then if your purse be not open to feede her folly, she will pawne her honour to please her fancy.

Is she beautifull? then your dispence must be in her diposition, or else her lookes will little repose you: if she order your goods, your expences will be great, and her gettings small, your house shall be stored with costly stuffe, and your servants starved with lack of meat, she will goe like a Peacock, and you like a meacock'.

lines 15-16] Proverbial; cf. Tilley M211.

line 20] The 'mercator's book' is recorded in OED vi.345, as a proverbial Elizabethan phrase with sole reference to the debts incurred by a 'gallant'.

lines 26-28] Cf. Antonio de Guevara, Familiar Epistles, T8<sup>r</sup>: 'if thou boast thy selfe that thy wife is wise, and of goodly personage, also thou complaynest that she is costly and no housekeeper: if thou say of thy selfe that thy wife is a good housewife, forthwith it is reported that no servant may endure hir fierce crueltie: if thou dost glory that thy wife is honest and chaste, many times thou doest abhorre hir for that she is too much jealous'.

P.203 (B4<sup>v</sup>)

lines 2-5] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, H3<sup>v</sup>: 'Let the foolish young married man, impose himselfe upon this fortune, that he cannot so oft kisse the sweete lippes of his beautifull wife, as he shalbe driven to fetch bitter sighes, from his sorrowfull heart'.

lines 13-15] Cf. [Thomas Dekker], The Batchelars Banquet, A3<sup>v</sup>, chapter 1: 'The humour of a young wife new married': 'Nay I am not angry, I must be content with that which God hath ordained for me: but the time was, when I might have bene better advised, there are some yet living that would have

been glad to have me in my smock, whom you know well enough, to be proper young men'.

See also G2<sup>v</sup>, lines 29-31.

lines 19-20] Proverbial; Tilley F229.

Cf. [Thomas Dekker], The Batchelars Banquet, A4<sup>r</sup>: 'herewithall she puts finger in the eye making shew as though she wept'.

line 24] Proverbial; Tilley P365.

lines 27-28] Proverbial; cf. Tilley M885.

lines 28-31] Cf. Anthony Munday, Zeluauto, pp.139-40: 'she is as honest as the best, though she be ashamed to use it, yet sure she dooth well, not to have her honestie so much seene, least with wearing it on working days, it may catch to much heat, and so melt away, or else take so much colde, that it will never be good after'.

#### P.204 (C1<sup>r</sup>)

lines 3-4] Proverbial; cf. Tilley D225.

lines 5-6] Proverbial; cf. Tilley B127.

lines 13-15] Proverbial; Tilley J57.

line 24] 'Frump': OED iv.578: 'A mocking speech or action, a flout, a jeer'.

lines 27-28] Proverbial; cf. Tilley C122; V14.

#### P.205 (C1<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-3] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, I4<sup>r</sup>: 'A Diamond hath not his grace but in gold, nor a faire woman her full commendation but in the ornament of her braverie'.

line 8] 'Woodcock': OED x.266: 'In allusive form (from the ease with which the woodcock is taken in a snare or net), in reference to capture by some trickery, or as a type of gullibility or folly; hence applied to a person: a fool, simpleton, or dupe'.

lines 13-16] 1 Kings 11.1-6.

Cf. Andrew Kingsmill, A View of Mans Estate, M2<sup>r</sup>: 'Salomon, the wisest man that ever was, fell away from God to idolatrie by means of his outlandish idolatrous wyves, as appeareth first of the kings, chapter.ii'.

lines 17-19] 2 Samuel 11.2-27.

Rachel Spaght, F3<sup>v</sup>, taxes Swetnam with wresting Scriptural sense: 'It had beene good that you had cited the place of story where you finde it, For I never yet in Scripture read, that the Almighty was displeased with David for his love to women, but for his lust to Bathsheba, which afterward brought forth his adulterous act, and his causing Uriah to be murthered'.

lines 23-24] Incorrect, cf. 1 Kings 21.19.

lines 25-26] Job 2.9.

Rachel Spaght, F4<sup>r</sup>, contends that Swetnam has again misconstrued the biblical text, 'for the true construction thereof will shew it to bee a Scarcasmus [sic] or Ironically speech, and not an instigation to blasphemie'.

lines 27-29] The 'small injury' consisted of Agamemnon's willingness to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia; as with the following allusion the source may be a wit book.

lines 30-31] The centaur Nessus who was slain by Hercules persuaded Deianira to soak her husband's shirt in his blood under the pretext that it was a charm to secure the love of her husband. Swetnam, by omission, puts a misogynist slant on the story of Deianira and Hercules.

lines 1-2] See C1<sup>v</sup>, lines 30-31.

lines 8-9] Rachel Speght, F4<sup>r</sup>: 'me thinkes it is farre more wonder-foole to have one, that adventures to make his writings as publique as an Inn-keepers signe, which hangs to the view of all passengers, to want Grammaticall Concordance in his said Writing, and joyne together Women plurall, and shee singular, Asse you not onely in this place, but also in others have done'.

lines 12-14] Cf. Antonio de Guevara, The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius, I3<sup>v</sup>: 'As it is naturall to women to despise that which is offered, so it is death to them to be denied that which they demaund'. This is reproduced verbatim in Politeuphia, D8<sup>v</sup> s.v. 'Of Women'.

lines 23-24] Proverbial; Tilley S350.

line 28] 'Night-crow': OED vi.144: 'A bird supposed to croak or cry in the night and to be of evil omen'. It was used as a term of abuse.

lines 30-31] Cf. [Thomas Dekker] The Batchelars Banquet, A2<sup>v</sup>: 'observing her opportunitie when she might take her husband at the most advantage, which is com[m]only in the bed, the gardaine of love, the state of marriage delights, & the life wherein the weaker sexe hath ever the better'.

P.207 (C2<sup>v</sup>)

line 1] Proverbial; Tilley W138.

line 3] Proverbial; Tilley B313.

lines 14-15] Proverbial; Tilley C453. The ensuing 'and thou never a black card in thy hand' is not recorded in Tilley.

line 19] Proverbial; Tilley D499 and F402. A conflation of two proverbs, the first one, 'An old dog (hound) bites sore' is misapplied here.

P.208 (C3<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-3] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.202, lines 7-10.

line 5] Proverbial; Tilley A146. Swetnam already used this proverb on B2<sup>r</sup>, line 31.

lines 5-8] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia: 'All is not golde [...] that glistereth, nor everything counterfet that is not curiously garnished: a smiling countenance is no ful testimony of a merry heart nor costly garments of a rich Purse' (C4<sup>v</sup>).

lines 22-23] Proverbial; Tilley W248.

line 23] Proverbial; Tilley P187.

line 24] Newgate was a notorious debtors' prison, and Tyburn the place of public execution for Middlesex until 1783. Like Newgate, Tyburn became proverbial. Rachel Speght, C3<sup>r</sup>, for instance wishes 'unto every Misogunes, a Tiburne Tiffenie for curation of his swolne necke'. Cf. Tilley T647.

P.209 (C3<sup>v</sup>)

lines 3-5] Cf. John Florio, Florio his first Fruites, S3<sup>v</sup>: 'Luste is lorde of al: it hath overcome Lordes, Learned men, wise, and eloquent: it hath vanquished the gretest knights that have ben'.

lines 7-12] 1 Kings 11.1-9. A repetition of C1<sup>v</sup>, lines 13-16.

lines 14-17] Proverbs 2.16-19; 5.3-8; 6.24-26, 32-33; 7.10-27; 23.26-35.

lines 19-20] Proverbial; Tilley R53.

lines 22-24] Proverbial; Tilley B393.

lines 24-25] Rachel Speght, F4<sup>v</sup>, again charges Swetnam with blasphemy: 'If

any Religious Author had thus affirmed, I should have wondred, that unto Satans suggestions he had so much subjected himselfe, as to crosse the Almightyes providence and care for mans good, who positively said, It is not good for man to bee alone: But being [sic] that the sole testimony heereof is your owne Dico, I marvell no whit at the error, but heartily wish, that unto all the untruths you have uttered in your infamous booke, you had subscribed your Dico, that none of them might bee adjudged truths: for mendacis praemium est verbis eius non adhiberi fidem'.

lines 25-27] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.239, lines 21-22.

P.210 (C4<sup>r</sup>)

line 3] Proverbial; cf. Tilley A269.

lines 3-4] Cf. Nicholas Breton, Pasquills Mistresse, B2<sup>v</sup>: 'And let her be a bagge of gold for wealth', [...] 'And let her be a very Ape for wit'.

lines 7-11] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, I4<sup>v</sup>: 'curteous service is to be accepted with thanks: acceptance of service inlargeth acquaintance; acquaintance ingendreth familiarity: and familiarity setteth all follies abroad: so that let other Married men take warning by Malipieros hard Fortune, for if their Wives love gadding like faire Felice, & be inconstant, do want, or finde in their husbands miscontentme[n]t, twenty to one they will pawne their honors to please their fancies'.

lines 12-14] Constantia Munda, E1<sup>r</sup>, mocks Swetnam's illiterate style: 'Sometimes your dogrill rhymes make mee smile, as when you come,/ Men must be at all the cost,/ And yet live by the losse:/ A man must take all the paines,/ And women spend all the gaines'.

lines 16-17] Proverbial; cf. Tilley R25; cf. John Lyly, Euphues and his England, p.16, lines 1-2.

lines 25-26] Rachel Speght, F4<sup>r</sup>, of course has something to say about the blasphemous nature of this statement: 'Albeit the Scripture verifieth, that God made woman and brought her to man; and that a prudent wife commeth of the Lord: yet have you not feared blasphemously to say, that women sprung from the divell'.

P.211 (C4<sup>v</sup>)

line 9] Proverbial; Tilley F16.

lines 10-11] This passage is used in the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, III.ii, lines 25-9, see note 54 to chapter 4.

lines 12-14] Rachel Speght, F4<sup>r</sup>, points out the inconsistency of this statement compared with that on the previous page [see note to D4<sup>r</sup>, lines 25-26]: 'being, as it seemes, defective in that whereof you have much need (for mendacem oportet esse memorem) you suddainely after say, That women were created by God'.

lines 14-15] Proverbial; cf. Tilley N317.

lines 16-17] Proverbial; Tilley M147.

line 19] OED x.73, 11.c: 'white money, silver money, silver coins'.

lines 30-31] Proverbial; Tilley S1026.

Cf. John Lyly, The Anatomy of Wit, p.234, lines 17-20.

P.212 (D1<sup>r</sup>)

line 1] See C4<sup>v</sup>, lines 30-31.

lines 2-4] Proverbs 7,22.

lines 5-6] Hosea 1.2.

This statement provokes Rachel Speght's indignation, F4<sup>v</sup>: 'which is as true as the Sea burnes; and for prooffe thereof you cite Hosea 1. in which chapter is no such matter to be found, it onely containing a declaration of the Lords anger against the [idolatrous] Jewes, who had gone awhoring after other Gods, set forth in a parable of an husband and an adulterous wife'.

lines 8-10] 1 Corinthians 6.9.

lines 11-13] 1 Corinthians 6.11. In these two biblical references, Swetnam does not mention the chapter, but the verse numbers are correct.

lines 13-14] Deuteronomy 22.21-22.

line 14] Genesis 38.24. Although the reference is in itself correct, Swetnam fails to reproduce the conclusion to Tamar's story in verse 26.

lines 14-16] Numbers 25.8.

lines 17-18] Deuteronomy 23.17-18.

lines 18-20] Proverbs 2.16-19; 5.3-8; 6.24-26, 32-33; 7.10-27; 23.26-35.

line 20] The verse references do not correspond with any of the verses in Ezra or the apocryphal Esdras.

line 21] Hebrews 13.4.

lines 24-26] Genesis 6.6-7.

lines 27-28] 1 Corinthians 7.2.

lines 29-31] Cf. Henry Smith, A Preparative to Marriage, B8<sup>v</sup>, in which an adulterer is also compared to 'a rich theefe which stealeth, and hath no need'.

Swetnam repeats this statement on 11<sup>r</sup>, lines 1-3.

#### P.213 (D1<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-2] Ecclesiasticus 26.9,11,12.

lines 3-4] Ecclesiasticus 26.19.

lines 4-9] Cf. Philip Stubbes, Anatomy of Abuses, D1<sup>v</sup>, for a more expansive account of the 'Evills that whordome brings': 'it dimmeth the sight, it impaireth the hearing, it infirmeth [the] sinewes, it weakneth the joynts, it exhausteth the marrow, consumeth the moisture and suppleme[n]t of the body, it riveleth the face, appalleth the cou[n]tenance, it dulleth [the] spirits, it hurteth the memorie, it weakneth [the] whole body, it bringeth it into a consu[m]ption, it bringeth ulcerations, scab, scurf, blain, botch, pocks, & biles, it maketh hoare haires, & bald pates: it induceth olde age, & in fin, bringeth death before nature urge it, malady enforce it, or age require it'.

Nicholas Ling, Politeuphia, Hh8<sup>r</sup>, defines the concept of 'concupiscence' and adds: 'This monstrous sinne altereth, marreth and drieth the body, weakning all the joynts and members, making the face blubbed and yellow; shortning life, diminishing memory, understanding, and the very heart'.

lines 10-11] Proverbial; cf. Tilley M389.

lines 14-15] Proverbial; Tilley W651; cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.238, lines 6-7.

lines 14-17] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, D1<sup>r</sup>-D1<sup>v</sup>: 'If [...] Platoes opinion be law, by the same reason women are either Angels, or Divels. [...] a woman hath no measure in her love, nor mercy in her hate: no rule in her pittie, nor piety in her revenge'.

lines 25-26] Not identified; cf. Tilley B484.

#### P.214 (D2<sup>r</sup>)

lines 13-14] Proverbial; cf. Tilley G260.

line 15] Constantia Munda, G4<sup>v</sup>-F1<sup>r</sup>, mocks Swetnam's opacity: 'What should I speake of the figments of your dull pate, how absurdly you tell of one



Theodora [...] is not the vaine and inconstant nature of men more culpable by this ensample than of women, when they should be so luxuriously bent that one silly light woman should draw a multitude of learned Schollers from the right way: yet neyther Laertius, nor any that writte the lives of Philosophers make mention of this Theodora'.

Rachel Speght, F4<sup>v</sup>, only refers to Theodora, Lavia, Flora and Lais, without any further discussion.

lines 25-31] Cf. William Painter, The second tome of the palace of pleasure, the 13th Novel, K1<sup>r</sup> ff: 'A notable history of three amorous gentlewomen, called Lamia, Flora and Lais: conteyning the sutes of noble Princes and other great personages made unto them, with their answers to diverse demaundes: and the manner of their death and funerals'. The story of the three courtezans is produced in far greater detail in this collection.

P.215 (D2<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-31] See note to D2<sup>r</sup>, lines 25-31.

lines 27-28] Proverbial; cf. Wilson p.448.

P.216 (D3<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-22] See note to D2<sup>r</sup>, lines 25-31.

lines 23-24] Rachel Speght, F4<sup>v</sup>, refers to Helen, without any further comment.

lines 23-26] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.234, lines 28-29.

Ester Sowernam, G3<sup>v</sup>: 'Helen was the cause of Troyes burning; first, Paris did sollicite her, next, how many knaves and fooles of the male kinde had Troy, which to maintaine whoredome would bring their Citie to confusion'.

P.217 (D3<sup>v</sup>)

lines 3-8] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.309, lines 3-5.

Cf. The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, ed. E. Sullivan, II.232. If Swetnam borrowed from The Civile Conversation, it is interesting that here too he deviates from the original sense of the passage, because the conclusion in The Civile Conversation is: 'for though [women] be never so chaste and honest, yet men will be moved with a lascivious and disordinate desire towards them, whiche is verified by that which is saide, Thou canst neither bee more learned then David, neither more strong then Sampson, neither more wise then Solomon, who notwithstanding have falne by meanes of women'.

Rachel Speght, F4<sup>v</sup>, attacks Swetnam's line of reasoning: 'I may as well say Barrabas was a murtherer, Joab killed Abner and Amasa, and Pharao Necho slew Josiah; therefore stay not alone in the companie of a man, trusting to thy owne strength, except thou bee stronger then Josiah, and more valiant then Abner and Amasa, for these and many more have beene murthered by men. The forme of argumentation is your owne, the whiche if you dislike, blame your selfe for proposing such a patterne, and blush at your owne folly, Quod te posse non facile dedo: for it is an old saying, how true I know not, that blushing is a signe of grace'.

lines 9-10] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.236, lines 10-16.

lines 13-14] Cf. Plutarch, Morals, p.1133: 'Aristippus, [...] when one went about to make him have a distance and mislike of Lais the curtisan, saying that she loved him not, made this answer: I suppose (quoth he) that

neither good wine, nor delicate fish loveth me, but yet (quoth he) I take pleasure and delight in drinking the one, and eating the other'.

lines 16-17] Proverbial; Tilley S788.

lines 22-25] Constantia Munda, E4<sup>v</sup>: 'You take Plato and Aristotle of a lascivious life that by the light of naturall reason were chiefest establishers of Matrimony, both in regard of oeconomicke and politicke affaires, doe these things deserve commendations of any, but rather the scorne and reproofe of all'.

lines 30-31] Cf. Erasmus, Apophtegmes, U5<sup>v</sup>.

Cf. Robert Allot, Wits Theater of the Little World, L4<sup>r</sup>, s.v. 'Of Beauty': 'Demosthenes that famous Orator, hearing the prodigall report of Lais beauty, came from Athens to Corinth, to co[m]pound with her for a nights lodging. Laertius'.

P.218 (D4<sup>r</sup>)

lines 3-10] The examples of Hortensius and Archenasse were probably also taken from wit books.

lines 13-15] Cf. Robert Allott, Wits Theater of the Little World, L4<sup>r</sup>, s.v. 'Of Beauty': 'Socrates and Aristotle notwithstanding their deepe philosophy and knowledge, the one became a slave to faire Hermia, the other was bewitched with Aspasia's beauty'.

lines 16-18] Ibid., L16<sup>v</sup>, s.v. 'Of Lechery': 'Antiochus stayed a whole winter in Calchidea, for one Mayde which he there fancied'.

lines 19-22] Cf. Plutarch, Lives, p.1075: Hannibal 'chose for his chiefest seate and strength the city of Capua, which stood very pleasantly and had plenty of all things. There it was that Hannibals souldiers, being used to lye hard, and easily to away with cold, hunger and thirst, became then of valiant men, rancke cowards [...] through the daily pleasures they enjoyed at will'.

lines 23-25] Ibid., p.733: 'And for the wars in Alexandria, some say, he needed not have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of Cleopatra wherein he won little honor, and besides did put his person in great danger'.

lines 26-28] Judith 8.8.

Ester Sowernam, G3<sup>v</sup>, again has occasion to charge Swetnam with wresting Scriptural sense: 'you shewe your selfe both Franticke, and a prophane irreligious foole to mention Judith for cutting off Holofernes head'.

lines 29-30] Matthew 14.3-10.

P.219 (D4<sup>v</sup>)

lines 6-9] Ester Sowernam, G3<sup>v</sup>, turns the argument against Swetnam: 'Men are much beholding to this author, who will seeme to insinuate, that the devil would in so friendly and famillier a manner, put on the shape of man, when he first began to practise mischief'.

lines 10-12] Genesis 39.7.

lines 12-16] Cf. Robert Allott, Wits Theater of the Little World, Pl<sup>v</sup>, s.v. 'Of Women', for a contrary view of Semiramis: 'Semyramis ruled worthily, & fought more valiantly then ever Xerxes durst, with all his huge hosts'.

Cf. William Vaughan, The Golden Grove, Q2<sup>r</sup>: 'The first that instituted [the] filthy order of stewes, was Venus, who because shee alone would not seeme to be a whore, (as having lye[n] with Mars, Vulcan, Mercurie, Anchises, and sundrie others) appoynted in Cypres, that women should prostitute themselves for money to all com[m]ers'.

lines 20-23] Cf. Robert Allott, Wits Theater of the Little World, L4<sup>v</sup>,

s.v. 'Of Beauty': 'Rhodope an harlot, was the fayrest among all the AEgyptians, whose slipper an Egle snatched up, and caried the same as farre as Memphis, and there let it fall in the lappe of Psamneticus, as he sate in judgement, upon which, he was presently enamoured of her person, and sent for her, whom he also married. Herodotus'.

lines 25-28] Cf. Plutarch, Morals, S4<sup>r</sup>: 'Sophocles being on a time demanded familiarly by one of his friends, whether he could yet keepe companie with a woman if need were: God blesse me (quoth he) my good friend, talke no more of that I pray you, I am free from those matters long since, and by the benefit of mine olde age, I have escaped the servitude of such violent and furious mistresses'.

lines 30-31] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.249, lines 1-3.

#### P.220 (E1<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-3] Ibid., p.249, lines 4-6.

lines 5-6] Proverbial; Tilley B204; cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.208, lines 10-13.

lines 9-15] Constantia Munda included these lines also as examples of Swetnam's 'dogrill rhyme'. See note to C4<sup>r</sup>, lines 12-14.

lines 12-13] Cf. Nicholas Breton, Pasquils Mistresse, D2<sup>v</sup>: 'Though she her matters carry nere so cleane,/ She shall be but a conny-catching queane'.

lines 14-15] Ibid., D4<sup>r</sup>: 'Such an odde whiffler swears that she will thrive,/ As long as she can finde one man alive'.

#### P.221 (E1<sup>v</sup>)

lines 6-8] Cf. William Warner, Syrinx, B4<sup>v</sup>: 'Oh that I had ben more carefull in avoyding their companie, and less cunning in deciphering their conditions'.

lines 10-11] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.247, lines 10-12.

lines 11-13] Cf. William Warner, Syrinx, C2<sup>r</sup>: 'And albeit the pleasure passeth away in a trifle, no sooner done but forgotten, and the punishment be permanent'.

line 15] Proverbial; cf. Wilson p.4.

lines 15-16] Proverbial; Tilley B141.

lines 17-19] Cf. William Warner, Syrinx, C2<sup>r</sup>: 'yeah so delightfull is the present sweete, that we never remember the following sower'.

#### P.222 (E2<sup>r</sup>)

line 1] Proverbial; cf. Tilley A295; cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.206, lines 32-34.

lines 20-23] Proverbial; Tilley M26.

Ester Sowernam's description of herself on the title-page, that she is 'neither Maide, Wife nor Widdowe, yet really all, is remarkable, since the phrase was generally used with reference to prostitutes, cf. Measure for Measure, V.1.179-80.

#### P.223 (E2<sup>v</sup>)

lines 7-8] Proverbial; Tilley W708.

line 18] Proverbial; Tilley H588.

lines 24-27] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.249, lines 9-

15, p.254, lines 1-3.

lines 21-25] Cf. Antonio de Guevara, Dial of Princes, U4<sup>r</sup>, for a similar passage: 'If hee flie, they say hee is a cowarde. If hee speake, thay say he is a bragger. If hee holde his peace, they say he is a dissarde. If hee laugh they say he is a foole. If he laugh not, they say hee is solempne'.

line 31] Proverbial; Tilley M633. 'To be taken with the manner' in this sense means 'to be caught in the act'.

P.224 (E3<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-2] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.254, line 10.

lines 8-9] Ibid., p.203, lines 20-23.

lines 10-11] Proverbial; Tilley C433.

lines 19-21] In the biographies of Aesop usually included in editions of the Fables, one of Aesop's owners is willing to sell him for three half-pence, cf. The Works of William Bullokar, vol.iv: Aesops Fablz 1585, ed. J.R. Turner, in Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series 1, 1969, lines 344-6.

lines 22-29] Cf. Anthony Munday, Zelauto, pp.139-40: 'What man so wilfull to come subject to women? What paynes more intollerable then to come at theyr calles? It is theyr joye, to have one bowe at theyr beκες, it is theyr delight to have one wayte on theyr wyles, it is the cheefest of theyr choyse, to have a man sue for their succour. Then Gyll will be a Gentlewoman, if she could but Parle un petit de Francoys. If a man will be made a meacock, and blinde him selfe with a little of theyr bolde behavior; then is theyre coyne currant, yea, better sylver then an honeste womans. If they can once fledge them selves, with an other mannes fethers; and jet in another mans costes: then a pin for the prowdest, a figge for the finest, she is as honest as the best, though she be ashamed to use it'

lines 30-31] Proverbial; not recorded in Tilley.

line 31] Proverbial; not recorded in Tilley.

P.225 (E3<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-2] Proverbial; Tilley B74.

line 3] Proverbial; not recorded in Tilley.

line 4] Proverbial; not recorded in Tilley.

lines 6-8] Although this has a proverbial ring, the phrase is not recorded in Tilley or Wilson.

Porters were traditionally of low repute. A ballad written by Thomas Brewer on the foundation of the Company of Porters comments on their professional reputation, and stresses their bid for respectability since the incorporation. The ballad was printed by Thomas Creed in 1605. A copy of it is in the Ballad Collection of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, vol. 1, 196.

lines 9-11] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, H4<sup>r</sup>: 'where a strumpet entereth, she stuffeth the house with slander, as carraine infecteth the ayre with stincke'.

line 12] Proverbial; Tilley T423.

lines 20-24] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.188, lines 20-26.

lines 25-29] Cf. Francis Meres, Palladis Tamia, G6<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>: 'The sowre crab hath the shew of an apple as well as the sweete Pippin, the blacke Raven the shape of a birde as well as the white Swan: so the lewde wight hath the name of a woman as well as the honest Matrone'. The English authors from which Meres derived his similes include John Lily, George Pettie, William Warner and Robert Greene.

lines 27-28] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.258, lines 5-8.  
line 31] Ibid., p.202, lines 12-13.

P.226 (E4<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-6] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues and his England, p.18, lines 19-23.

lines 7-8] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.189, lines 28-30.

lines 12-14] Cf. William Warner, Syrynx, Cl<sup>r</sup>: 'Besides her attire, eies hath she to entise, teares to excuse, lookes to attract, smiles to flatter, embracements to provoke, resistance to yeilde, frownes to delay, becks to recall, lippes to inchaunt, kisses to enflame, and all these to poyson'.

lines 15-16] This blasphemous statement provokes responses from all three opponents. Rachel Speght, Gl<sup>r</sup>V, devotes an entire page to discussing Swetnam's statement: 'Albeit I have nor read Seaton or Ramus, nor so much as seene (though heard of) Aristotles [Organon], yet by that I have seene and reade in compasse of my apprehension, I will adventure to frame an argument or two, to shew what danger, for this your blasphemy you are in.

To fasten a lie upon God is blasphemy: But the Bayter of women fastens a lie upon God: ergo, the Bayter is a blasphemer.

The proposition, I trowe, none will gaine say, the assumption I thus prove,

Whoever affirms God to have called women necessary evils, fastens a lie upon God: For from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelation there is no such instance to be found: But the Bayter affirms God to have called women, Ergo, the Bayter fastens a lie upon God.

The reward according to Law Divine due unto the Bayter of women.

Whosoever blasphemeth God, ought by his Law, to die; The Bayter of Women hath blasphemed God, Ergo, he ought to die the death.

The Proposition is upon record, Levit. 24.14.16. The assumption is formerly proved'.

Ester Sowerman, C2<sup>r</sup>, E3<sup>v</sup>, refers to Swetnam's blasphemous statement twice: 'Out of what Scripture, out of what record, can hee prove these impious and impudent speeches? They are only faigned and framed out of his owne idle, giddie, furious, and franticke imaginations. If he had cited Euripides for his Author, hee had had some colour, for that profane Poet in Medea, useth these speeches, Quod si Deorum aliquis mulierem formavit, optificem se malorum sciat, maximum & hominibus inimicum. If any of the Gods framed woman, let him know he was the worker of that which is naught, and what is most hurtfull to men. Thus a Pagan writeth prophanely, but for a Christian to say, that God calleth women necessary evils, is most intolerable and shamefull to be written and published. She also includes Swetnam's blasphemy in the Indictment: 'thou doest affirme an impudent lye upon almighty God, in saying, that God calleth them necessary evils'.

Constantia Munda, E3<sup>r</sup>, approaches the statement in legalistic fashion: 'thou doest put a lie upon God himselfe, with this supposition, If God had not only made them to be a plague to man, he would never have called them necessary evils: which I thus anticipate; But God never called them necessary evils, Therefore God made them not to be a plague to man'.

Rachel Speght is again the most involved of the three; although the other two respondents also notice the blasphemy, they do not express themselves with the same amount of vehemence.

The saying 'Women are necessary evils' itself had already acquired proverbial status, see Tilley W703.

lines 13-14] Proverbial; Tilley D459. The first instance quoted in Tilley occurs in 1616, a year later than The Araignment of Women.

lines 21-31] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, E2<sup>v</sup>: 'no man will denie, but that there is a difference of conditions, in creatures of every kinde; some horse, an unskilfull horseman, can hardly disorder; and some in despite of his rider will have a jadish tricke. Some hauke though she be evil served, will not stragle forth: & some, do the Faulkner what he can; will continuallie flie at checkes: some hound by no means will be rared from riot, and some will never forsake his undertaken game: even so some man will filch if his hands be fast bounde, and some having the advantage of a bootie, will rather starve, then steale: some woman, within an houres libertie will offend, and ten yeares loving sure cannot overcome the other'.

lines 4-12] An old metaphor, cf. Remedy of Love (Chaucer Apocrypha) in A. Chambers, The Works of the English Poets, London 1810, vol 1, p.540: 'If all the yearth were parchment scribable,/ Speedie for the hand, and all manner wood/ Were hewed and proportioned to pens able,/ All water in inke, in damme or flood,/ Every man being a parfit scribe and good,/ The cursednesse yet and deceit of women/ Could not be shewed by the meane of pen'.

This passage is also used in Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, II.iii., lines 151-8, see note 54 to chapter 4.

lines 13-20] Swetnam repeats himself, see E2<sup>r</sup>, lines 4-6.

line 17] A phrase referring to the 'bad sort' of women, cf. J.M. Osborn

lines 1-2] Cf. Nicholas Ling, Politeuphia, Aa3<sup>r</sup>, s.v. 'Marriage': 'Such as are desirous to marry in hast, have oftentimes sufficient time to repent at leisure'.

line 2] Proverbial; Tilley H196.

lines 5-15] This passage already occurs on B2<sup>r</sup>, lines 30-31 and B2<sup>v</sup>, lines 1-6.

line 6] Proverbial; Tilley W887.

lines 6-7] Proverbial; Tilley A146.

lines 8-9] Proverbial; Tilley W172.

lines 11-15] Rachel Speght, G2<sup>r</sup>, contrasts this passage with the statement on 'Page 51, line 16. Many are the joyes and sweete pleasures in Marriage, as in our children, &c.', to point out the contradictions in Swetnam's attack on women.

lines 16-17] Proverbial; Tilley P430; cf. John Lyly, Euphues and his England, p.16, lines 33-35.

line 19] Rachel Speght, G2<sup>v</sup>, ridicules the inconsistencies in The Araignment: 'You counsell all men, to shunne idlenesse, and yet the first words of your Epistle to women are these, Musing with my selfe being idle: Heerein you appeare, not unlike to a Fencer, which teacheth another how to defend himselfe from enemies blowes, and suffers himselfe to be stricken without resistance: for you warne others, to eschew that dangerous vice, wherewith (by your owne confession) your selfe is stained'.

Although Speght's comparison is striking, considering Swetnam's profession, it is not likely that she knew Swetnam was a fencer, since her reference would probably have been more explicit in that case.

line 20] Proverbial; cf. Tilley I9; cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy

of Wit, p.250, lines 27-28.

lines 27-28] Proverbial; Tilley P358.

lines 28-31] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, F2<sup>r</sup>: 'Roses unadvisedly gathered, prick our hands, Bees ungently used sting our faces, yet the one pleasant [is] and the other profitable'.

P.230 (F2<sup>r</sup>)

lines 3-4] Proverbial; Tilley F523.

lines 5-6] Proverbial; Tilley B380.

lines 9-10] Proverbs 6.27.

lines 12-16] This passage is used in Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, I.ii, lines 164-6 see n.54 to chapter 4.

Rachel Speght, C1<sup>v</sup>-C2<sup>r</sup>: 'If this your affirmation be true, then seemes that hell is the period of all married mens travailes, and the center of their circumference. A man can but have either a good wife or a bad; and if he have the former, you say he doth but seeme to amble to hell; if the latter, he were as good trot to the divell: But if married men ride, how travaille Batchelours? surely, by your rule, they must go on foote, because they want wives; which (inclusively) you say are like horses to carry their husbands to hell. Wherefore in my minde, it was not without mature consideration that you married in time, because it would be too irksome for you to travaille so tedious a Journey on foote'.

lines 16-17] Proverbial; Tilley C110; cf. Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.203, lines 26-27.

lines 21-22] Proverbial; Tilley M129.

Cf. Nicholas Ling, Politeuphia, D7<sup>v</sup>, s.v. 'Women': 'Like as no man can tell where a shoe wringeth him, better then he that weareth it, so no man can tell a womans disposition better then he that hath wedded her. Mar. Aur.'

lines 22-24] Proverbial; Tilley F685; cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.197, lines 17-19.

lines 30-31] Proverbial; Tilley D582; cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.247, lines 9-13.

P.231 (F2<sup>v</sup>)

lines 2-4] Cf. Nicholas Ling, Politeuphia, D7<sup>r</sup>, s.v. 'Women': 'Hee that trusteth to the love of a woman, resembleth him that thinkes trees will not leave theyr leaves in autumne'.

lines 5-7] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.258, lines 8-9. line 8] Proverbial; Tilley E207.

lines 13-14] Cf. Erasmus, Apophthegmes, q4<sup>v</sup>: 'To one demanding, when best season were[e] to wedde awife; for a young manne, [said] he: it is too soone, and for an old manne over late'.

This anecdote already occurred on B3<sup>r</sup>, lines 13-16.

Rachel Speght, B2<sup>r</sup>, counters this statement with the authority of St. Paul: 'this doctrine of Divells Saint Paul foreseeing would be broached in latter times, gives warning of'. A marginal note refers to 1.Tim. 4.3, her reference to the 'doctrine of Divells' reflects the opening of this chapter in Timothy.

lines 19-22] These lines were used in Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women I.ii, lines 133-5, see note 54 to chapter 4.

Rachel Speght, B3<sup>r</sup>: 'In your Title Leafe, you arraigne none but lewd, idle, froward and unconstant women, but in the sequele (through defect of memorie as it seemeth) forgetting that you had made a distinction of good from badde, condemning all in generall, you advise men to beware of, and not

to match with any of these six sorts of women, viz. Good and Badde, Faire and Foule, Rich and Poore'.

line 21] Proverbial; Tilley P615.

lines 22-31] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.248, lines 25-32.

Cf. Antonio de Guevara, Familiar Epistles, T8<sup>r</sup>: 'if thou marry with a gentlewoman, thou must beare with her pompe and follie: If thou encounter with a woman that is mild and wise, thou must accept her povertie: if thou match with one that is riche, it may happen to thee to be ashamed of her kindred? if thou choose thee a wife that is fayre, thou hast mischaunce sufficient to watch hir: if it be thy chaunce to obtayne a wife that is foule, after two days thou wilt shunne thy house, and also seeke newe lodging'.

#### P.232 (F3<sup>r</sup>)

line 1] See note to F2<sup>v</sup>, lines 22-31.

lines 6- 7] Proverbial; Tilley M661.

lines 11-12] Proverbial; cf. Tilley M163.

lines 19-20] This proverbial phrase already occurred on E2<sup>v</sup>, lines 7-8.

lines 21-22] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.236, lines 26-27.

lines 24-25] Ibid., p.195, line 4.

line 30] cf. Ibid., p.255, line 12.

#### P.233 (F3<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-2] Proverbial; Tilley S973; cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.255, lines 13-15.

line 2] Proverbial; Tilley R119.

lines 2-3] Proverbial; Tilley L429.

lines 4-5] Rachel Speght, G2<sup>r</sup>: 'Beware of making too great a fire, lest the surplussage of that fires effect which you intended for others, singe your selfe'.

lines 6-11] Cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.254, lines 14-21.

Cf. Remedy of Love, A8<sup>v</sup>, lines 4-7: 'Account the fat as swolne, the browne as blacke,/ If she be slender, say, she flesh doth lacke:/ If she be merry, sweare that she is light;/ If modest, thinke it is for lacke of wit'.

For the female counterpart to this advice, cf. Robert Greene, Mamilia, L4<sup>v</sup>-M1<sup>r</sup>: 'if her lover be faire, he will be proud of his person, if rich, his substance procureth statelnesse, if of noble parentage, it maketh him disdainfull. [...] if he be liberal thinke him prodigall, if eloquent a babler, if wise inconstant, if bolde rash, if timerous a dastard [...] muse upon his infirmities, so shalt thou leade a quiet life in libertie and never buy repentaunce too dear'.

lines 17-18] Proverbial; Tilley F476.

lines 23-31] Cf. Barnaby Rich, The travailes and adventures of Don Simonides, part II, S1<sup>v</sup>, which includes a disputation between a soldier and a courtier: 'The soldiour is fed with murders, delighteth in bloodshed, the memorie of whose massakers, would make the memorie of his pleasures most loathsome'.

Constantia Munda, F1<sup>rv</sup>, dwells on this passage at some length, pointing out the absurdity of Swetnam's statements ('who marcheth among murdered carkasses, but to this ende, that hee might enjoy peace?') and concludes, with her usual highbrow disdain: 'Thus you see your cheifest elegancie to



bee but miserable patches and botches: this Antithesis you have found in some Author, betwixt a warrior and a lover and you stretch it to shew the difference betwixt a man and a woman'.

Constantia Munda seems to be aware of the ultimate source of Swetnam's 'cheifest elegancie' although she does not refer to it explicitly. Ludovico Ariosto's Ariostos satyres in seven famous discourses, translated by R. Tofte and published in London in 1608, is one of the works which Constantia Munda may have had in mind. The fifth discourse deals with 'Soldiers, Musitians and Lovers'.

P.234 (F4<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-3] See F3<sup>v</sup>, lines 23-31.

lines 15-22] Cf. Erasmus, Apophtegmes, C7<sup>v</sup>-C8<sup>r</sup>, s.v. 'Socrates'. This anecdote also recurs in jestbooks, see Tarltons Jests, in Shakespeare's Jest-Books, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, p.65: 'Of Socrates and his scoldinge wyfe'. Socrates's answer acquired proverbial status; see Tilley T275.

P.235 (F4<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-2] Proverbial; cf. Tilley T420.

lines 5-7] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, K4<sup>v</sup>: 'of what mettall is a womans tounge, which correction cannot chastise, nor lenitie quiet'.

lines 7-12] Ester Sowernam: 'You challenge women for untamed and unbridled tongues; there was never woman was ever noted, for so shamelesse, so brutish, so beastly a scold as you prove your selfe in this base and odious Pamphlet: You blaspheme God, you raile at his Creation, you abuse and slander his Creatures, and what immodest or impudent scurillitie is it, which you doe not expresse in this lewde and lying Pamphlet?' (G3<sup>v</sup>).

lines 13-14] Cf. Nicholas Ling, Politeuphia, D8<sup>v</sup>, s.v. 'Women': 'Like as to a shrewd horse belongeth a sharpe bridle, so ought a curst wife to be sharply handled. Plato'.

lines 22-25] F.E. Hulme, in Proverb Lore, London 1902, p.85, reprints these four lines as part of a 'proverb-mongering' poem, although he does not provide the source: 'If that a batchelor thou bee,/ Keepe the same style, be ruled by mee,/ Lest that repentaunce all too late/ Rewarde thee with a broken pate/ If thou be yonge then marye not yett,/ If thou be olde thou hast more wytt:/ For young men's wyves will not be taught,/ And olde men's wyves bee good for naught'.

line 27] The only proverb recorded in Tilley is D50.

lines 30-31] Cf. Antonio de Guevara, The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius, L15<sup>rv</sup>: 'After the diversities of beastes, nature hath put some strength in divers partes of their bodies, as the egle in the beake, the unicorne in the horne, the serpent in the tayle, the bull in the head, the bear in the armes, the horse in the breast, the dog in the teeth, the hogge in the groin, the wood dove in hir whynges, and women in their tongues [...] And fynallie the serpent hath not so muche poyson in his tayle, as ye have in your tongues'.

P.236 (G1<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-5] See note to F4<sup>v</sup>, lines 30-31.

lines 14-15] Proverbial; Tilley C317.

line 15] Rachel Speght, G2<sup>rv</sup>, contrasts this passage with the statement made on 'Page 53. Line 19. The husband ought (in signe of love) to impart his secrets and counsell unto his wife, for many have found much comfort and profite by taking their wives counsell', and demands: 'how reconcile you

those dissonant places above cited?'.  
lines 27-31] Lyas is a misprint for Byas or Bias. It is not corrected in subsequent editions. Cf. Plutarch, Morals, E2<sup>V</sup>: 'Bias verily, that auncient sage, being commaunded by King Amasis, to send unto him the best and woorst piece of a beast killed for sacrifice, plucked foorth the tongue onely, and sent it him; giving him thus much thereby to understand. That speech is the cause both of most good, and also of greatest harme'.

Constantia Munda, E4<sup>V</sup>, finds further occasion for ridicule of Swetnam: 'he that reades [this passage] should say that one lyinge Asse Swetnam bought the best and worst tongues; but certainly if that Bias had met with your tongue in the Market, hee would have taken it for the worst and most unprofitable meat, because from nothing can come worse venom then from it'.

P.237 (G1<sup>V</sup>)

lines 1-7] see G1<sup>r</sup>, lines 27-31.

lines 8-31] Cf. Pedro Mexia, The Foreste, B2<sup>V</sup>-B3<sup>r</sup>, where the anecdote of Papius Praetextus is discussed in chapter 3: 'Of the excellency of Secretes, and it what sorte a secrete ought to be covered, with certaine Examples servinge to the purpose'.

This history also found its way into jestbooks, cf. Tarltons Jests, in Shakespeare's Jest-Books, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, p.31: 'Of Papius Pretextatus'.

P.238 (G2<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-9] see G1<sup>r</sup>, lines 8-31.

lines 20-21] Cf. The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, ed. E. Sullivan, III, p.7.

lines 21-24] Proverbs, 11.22.

line 25] Proverbial; Tilley T155. This proverb also occurs on B3<sup>r</sup>, line 29.

lines 25-31] Cf. Ercole Tasso, Of Mariage and Wiving, E1<sup>V</sup>, for a similar speech by a discontented wife: 'I have plaide the foole so grosely [...] who might have married with such a noble man, and with such a Countie, and such a Cavallier would very faine have had me, if I had bene willing [...] and yet like a beast as I was (I thinke I was bewitcht, that I was) I woulde have none of them, onely because I would match with him that knoweth not how to use a one as I am according to my estate and worthinesse'.

See also B4<sup>V</sup>, lines 13-15, for a similar passage.

P.239 (G2<sup>V</sup>)

lines 3-4] A reference to cuckoldry.

line 4] OED vii.347: 'Ox-feather (humorous), the 'horn' as the symbol of cuckoldry'.

Rachel Speght's determination to score points off Swetnam, G2<sup>r</sup>, is the occasion of a rather clumsy sneer: 'If Oxen have feathers, their haire more fitly may be termed so then their hornes'.

lines 4-6] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, I4<sup>r</sup>: 'and yet Malipiero loved her so deerly, that he would have ventured upon a thousand infamies, to maintain her in the state of an honest woman'.

line 17] Proverbial; Tilley B376.

lines 17-18] Proverbial; Tilley C135.

lines 18-19] Proverbial; Tilley T486.

line 19] Proverbial; Wilson p.152.

line 20] Proverbial; Tilley C491.

lines 20-22] Cf. The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, ed. E. Sullivan, III. p.15.

lines 22-30] Ibid., III, p.21.

P.240 (G3<sup>F</sup>)

line 3] Proverbial; Tilley M65.

lines 8-9] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, E4<sup>F</sup>: 'among the married, quarrels in the day, are qualified with kisses in the night'.

lines 10-12] Ibid., E4<sup>V</sup>: 'where there is such a devisioun in the desires of the Married, fayre fained semblance, will soone turne to flat fowle falling out, their thrift goeth forward as the Carriage drawne by two Oxen, taile to taile: the husband will have no delight to get, nor the wife desire to save'.

line 15] Proverbial; Tilley S1047. The proverb is misapplied in this context, because according to this saying, the guilt lies initially with the husband, the wife acting only on provocation, as in Tilley's reference to Thomas Middleton, Family of Love, V,1: 'Since he has strooke with the sword strike you with the scabbard: in plaine terms cuckold him'.

line 31] Proverbial; cf. Tilley W23.

Cf. Nicholas Breton, Pasquills Mistresse, B1<sup>F</sup>: 'Not shee, that braves a picture for a fate,/ Nor shee whose waste is as little as a wand:/ Nor shee whose eye can glance it with a grace,/ Nor shee that hath a spider fingred hand,/ Nor shee that doth upon her Tiptoes stand'.

P.241 (G3<sup>V</sup>)

lines 1-2] See G3<sup>F</sup>, line 31.

lines 2-3] Ibid., C4<sup>F</sup>: 'And, if she know not how to make her readie,/ Nor what to weare, nor how to speake, nor looke;/ But in her humours will be proud and heddy:/ And never reade, but in a golden booke,/ And will be caught but with the golden hooke'.

lines 3-7] Ibid., D3<sup>V</sup>: 'She that can looke ahead, and stroake a beard,/ And picke a moath, and finely set a ruffe/ And make her selfe of every flie afeard,/ That is a wench, that if she had a spring,/ Would make a begger, that were halfe a king'.

line 3] Proverbial; cf. Tilley H591.

lines 8-18] Cf. Pedro de Mexia, The Foreste, O4<sup>V</sup>-P1<sup>F</sup>: 'the man at the age of twentie five, might chuse to him a wife, at sixtene, or seventene yeeres, having some respecte to the course, or order of mannes life. Also let man take to wife, a woman yonge, a maide, of perfecte, and good complexion, not olde, no widowe, framed to the maners, and humour of an other: for assuredly in their tender youth, thei are flexible, and bending, to what so man would have them, obedient, and subject to his will, and pleasure [...] widowes are all readie trained to the perverse appetite some tyme, and fonde phantasie of others, and therefore harde to bee drawn backe, from the wonted, and straunge devises, of their first friende, or housband'.

lines 13-18] Ester Sowernam, G1<sup>V</sup>-G2<sup>F</sup>, discusses the contradictions inherent in this passage: 'How commeth it then that this gentle and milde disposition is afterwards altered? your selfe doth give the true reason, for you give a great charge not to marrie a widow. But why? because you say in the same Page, A widow is framed to the conditions of another man. Why then, if a woman have frowarde conditions, they be none of their owne, she was framed to them. Is not our adversarie ashamed of himselfe, to raile against women for those faults which come from all men? Doth not hee most grievously charge men to learne their wives bad and corrupt behaviour? [A marginal note here: 'Men infect'] for hee saith plainely, Thou must unlearne a widow, and

make her forget and forgoe her former corrupt & disordered behaviour. Thou must unlearne her, Ergo, what fault shee hath, shee learned, her corruptnes commeth not from her own disposition, but from her Husbands destruction'.

lines 27-28] Proverbial; Tilley M676.

P.242 (G4<sup>r</sup>)

line 12] Proverbial; Tilley S985.

line 13] A 'sheep', that is to say a docile, obedient woman, was often contrasted with a shrew.

lines 13-15] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, P3<sup>v</sup>: 'two or three may thrive by Dice, yet is dyceing ill husbandrie'.

lines 17-18] In her second dedicatory epistle, A4<sup>r</sup>, Ester Sowernam incorporates this line into her appeal to the London apprentices: 'None are here arraigned, but such olde fornicators as came full mouth and open cry to Jesus, and brought a woman to him taken in adultery, who when our Saviour stoopt downe and wrote on the ground, they all fled away. Joseph Swetnam saith, A man may finde Pearles in dust, Pag.47. But if they who fled had seene any Pearles, they would rather have stayed to have had share, then to flye and to leave the woman alone'.

lines 20-24] Cf. Nicholas Breton, Pasquills Mistresse, C1<sup>r</sup>: 'The gracious glorious Queene of womankind,/ The Virgin Marie, mother of all blisse,/ What wonne her honour, but an humble minde'.

Ester Sowernam, C3<sup>r</sup>, also includes the Virgin Mary in her list of excellent women.

lines 26-27] Susanna is described as 'one that feared the Lord' in the apocryphal story (R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphia of the Old Testament in English, Oxford 1983, vol. 1, p.647), but there is no reference to 'creeping on her knees to please her husband'.

line 28] 'Meaner histories' as opposed to biblical history. See also I1<sup>v</sup>, line 23, for Swetnam's use of the word 'mortal'.

line 30] Cf. Pedro Mexia, The Foreste, Q1<sup>r</sup>: 'The chaste loyaltie of Lucretia, was suche towards her husbände, so well knowne, and so notorious, that superfluous were it to speake of it, for unkindely abused by force of an unchaste lecherer, slue her selfe in the presence of divers worthie personages'.

P.243 (G4<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-4] See G4<sup>r</sup>, line 31.

lines 5-12] Ibid., Q1<sup>r</sup><sup>v</sup>: 'The mervailous love also, of the wife of Fernandus Gonzales, an Earle or Counte, is no lesse in my judgements commendable, then was also her policie, by which she deceived the king, and well delivered the countie: she in stature, not much unlike to her husband, did on his apparell, arrestyng still in prison, and he attired as a woman, paste forthe by her advice, fledde thence, and escaped the angrie wrath of the prince'.

lines 13-17] Ibid., P4<sup>v</sup>: 'To witnes the good minde, that Artemisia bare to Mausolus, we onely must not consider, of that famous sepulchre, whiche she to hym builte, and called Mausoleum, which also to this daie, for the sumptuous, and curious woorke thereof, is accompted, not the least of the seaven woundes of the worlde, but also of others, her honeste desires towards hym'.

lines 18-31] Ibid., P4<sup>r</sup>: 'Plinie the younger, in a letter of his writeth, that a certaine Fisher, beyng sicke of an incurable disease, or maladie, by meanes whereof, he daily indured such tormentes, and paines, as was almoste

impossible, for man to sustaine, whereat his wife moved with mervailous compassion, as she, that intierly, and hartely loved hym, seying no hope of healthe, or recoverie, nor any where coulede finde any kinde of remedie, havynge sought if every where, to the uttermoste of her power, perswaded with her husbände, by death to make an ende of these gripyng paines saying: sithe that death at some other tyme, of necessitie you muste yelde, prevente her commynge, to ende thereby, this unsupportable anguishe. To which her advise, this poore wretche accorded: wherefore, passyng forthe bothe to the toppe of an high rocke, this woman there bounde her self verie faste to her housebände, whence casting themselves downe, were dismembered together'.

P.244 (H1<sup>r</sup>)

line 1] See G4<sup>v</sup>, lines 18-31.

lines 4-13] Ibid., P4<sup>r</sup>: 'Q. Curtius reciteth, that the king of Aira, vanquished by Alexander, spoiled and deprived of a great parte of his realme, paciently bare it, with a valiaunt, and manly courage, without any shewe of pain, or anguishe, but when news was broughte hym, that his wife was dedde, in token that he more loved her, then he did his kyngdome, brake out in teares, and wepte verie bitterly'.

lines 20-29] Ibid., P4<sup>r</sup>: 'The singuler affection also, of Tiberius Gracchus, towards his wife, is then the others, no lesse straunge, or mervailous, whose historie, though it be common, redde in Valerius Maximus, yet in fewe to touch it, shall not bee superfluous: he therefore, on a tyme findyng, two serpentes in his bedde chamber, straungely amazed at so loathsome a sight, demaunded of the augurers, or sothsaiers, what it might portende, was aunswered, that of necessitie he muste kill one, but if the male, then hymselfe should first dye most assuredly before his wife: but if the female, then contrary wise, his wife before hym: he then that better loved his wife, then himself, made perfect demonstration of his loyall affection, for he rather did chuse to dye first hymself, then to see his wife to dye before hym, and so in killing the male serpent, made chaunge of life forthwith'.

lines 20-29] Constantia Munda of course pokes fun at Swetnam's ignorance of classical sources: 'what a silly thing it is, let Monsieur Swetnam judge, when Valerius Maximus relates in his 4. booke, a history of one Tiberius Gracchus [...] and you like an Asse tell this tale of Valerius Maximus (G4<sup>r</sup>).

lines 30-31] Cf. Pedro Mexia, The Foreste, P3<sup>v</sup>: 'we maie consider of the mutuall love, or affection, betwixte our first parentes Eve, and Adam, unto whom the fruite of life, under paine of death was prohibited. Adam notwithstanding, to gratifie his wife, refused not to hassarde hymself by breach of that commaundement'.

P.245 (H1<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-4] See H1<sup>r</sup>, lines 30-31.

line 10] Proverbial; Tilley B332.

lines 13-14] Proverbial; cf. Tilley F472, B14.

lines 23-25] 1 Corinthians 7.38 and 7.9. See also B3<sup>r</sup>, lines 5-6, for an earlier reference to 1 Corinthians 7.38.

lines 26-29] Unidentified, but probably a jest-book anecdote. The incongruous transition from jest to seriousness also occurred on E2<sup>v</sup>, lines 5-8.

line 29] Rachel Speght quotes from The Araignment: 'Page 50. line 28. [sic] There is no joy or pleasure in this world which may be compared to Marriage' [up to H2<sup>r</sup>, line 8] and contrasts it with the statement on 'Page

34, line 5', to criticise the inconsistencies of Swetnam (G2<sup>r</sup>).

P.246 (H2<sup>r</sup>)

lines 16-17] Speght contrasts this statement with that of Fl<sup>v</sup>, lines 3-14 (G2<sup>r</sup>).

lines 25-28] Cf. The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, ed. E. Sullivan, III, p.5.

P.247 (H2<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-3] Ibid., III, p.5.

lines 4-10] Ibid., III, p.6. The last sentence in this passage acquired proverbial status, see Tilley B178.

line 6] Cf. Thomas Dekker, The wonderfull yeare, in F.P. Wilson (ed.), The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker, Oxford 1925: 'the larde [...] was more greasie then a kitchin-stuffe-wives basket' (p.55, line 21).

lines 11-12] Cf. The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, ed. E. Sullivan, III, p.10.

lines 11-21] Cf. William Vaughan, The Golden Grove, H7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>, for similar advice: 'Choose thee not a wife above thine estate, nor under, lest the one be too haughty, or the other displease thee, rather hearken unto a wittie virgin, borne of vertuous and wittie parents, correspondent unto thee both in birth and degree, and no doubt but with thy good admonitio[n]s thou shalt have her tractable'.

lines 16-21] Cf. The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, III, p.21.

lines 25-31] Ibid., III, p.18.

P.248 (H3<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-5] Ibid., III, p.21.

lines 6-10] Ibid., III, p.26.

lines 10-15] Ibid., III, p.24.

lines 20-25] Rachel Speght contrasts this statement with that on Gl<sup>r</sup>, line 12.

lines 30-31] Proverbial; Tilley T431.

lines 25-31] Cf. The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, ed. E. Sullivan, III, pp.26-7.

P.249 (H3<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-15] Ibid., III, pp.27-8.

lines 20-21] Proverbial; Tilley D336.

lines 24-31] Cf. The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, ed. E. Sullivan, III, p.31.

P.250 (H4<sup>r</sup>)

lines 2-12] Ibid., III, p.38.

lines 13-17] Ibid., III, p.39.

P.251 (H4<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-6] Ibid., III, p.40.

lines 7-19] Swetnam here provides a potted version of a housewife's duties, cf. Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault, Maison Rustique, E2<sup>v</sup>: 'the

surplussinge to be imploied and laid out in pettie matters, as in linnens, cloathes for the household, and all necessities of household furniture, that of a certainty belongeth unto the woman. I meane also that shee must bee such a one as is obedient unto God & to her husband, given to store up, to lay up and keepe things sure undre locke and key, painefull, peacable, not lovinge to stirre from home, milde unto such as are under her when there is neede, and sharpe and severe when occasion requireth, not contentious, full of wordes, toyish, tatling: nor drowsie headed'.

line 8] Proverbial; Tilley K176. The first recorded instance in Tilley dates to 1633.

lines 11-19] Cf. The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, ed. E. Sullivan. III, p.41.

lines 20-31] Ibid., III, p.41.

#### P.252 (II<sup>r</sup>)

lines 1-3] Another repetition, see D1<sup>r</sup>, lines 29-31.

lines 17-18] Ovid's Remedia Amoris was first published in England in 1600 in an English translation. This verse translation was entitled Ovidius Naso his remedie of love. The next edition, also in verse, was published in 1620.

lines 20-21] Rachel Speght, G3<sup>r</sup>, here offers a rather niggling correction: 'Albeit you doubt not but by some to be reputed for a good Archer [see A4<sup>v</sup>, lines 25-26], you heere shot wide from the truth, in saying without contradiction of Ovids errorr, that Rew is of a cold nature: For most Physitions (if not all) both ancient and moderne, holde it to be hote and drie in the third degree: and experience will tell the user thereof, that the temperature is hote, not colde'.

lines 22-23] Remedy of Love, Bk II, B5<sup>v</sup>: 'Lastly, I must some meates forbid the sicke,/ That I in all may be Physition like:/ Use not on sweete and juicy meates to feede;/ Of such, the fulnesse, doth this hunger breede'.

lines 26-27] Ibid., Bk I, A5<sup>v</sup>: 'By all meanes labour to shunne idlenes:/ This brings him first, this staies him and no other,/ This is to Cupid both his nurse and mother./ Barre idlenesse, loves arrowes blunt will turne,/ And the inflaming fire want power to burne'.

lines 27-28] Ibid., Bk II, B4<sup>r</sup>: 'Use not to silent Groves alone to shrinke,/ Nothing love more upholdeth then to thinke'.

line 31] Ibid., Bk II, B5<sup>v</sup>: 'Take heed least thou into the place resort,/ Which hath bene accessary to thy sport:/ Stirre not the ashes which do fire conceale,/ Nor touch the wound which is about to heale'.

#### P.253 (II<sup>v</sup>)

lines 1-2] See II<sup>r</sup>, line 31.

lines 3-4] Ibid., Bk II, B5<sup>v</sup>: 'All letters written from thy Mistresse, burne:/ Such reliques, lovers mindes do backwardes turne'.

lines 9-10] Proverbial; Tilley L508.

lines 18-20] Remedy of Love, Bk II, B2<sup>v</sup>: 'Strive thou to be in love with two together,/ So shall thy love be violent in nether:/ For when thy minde by halfe doth doubtfull stray,/ One love doth take the others force away'.

lines 19-20] Proverbial; Tilley L538.

line 23] OED vi.674: '7. Of or pertaining to man as a creature living on this earth and destined to die; referring to humanity'. The 'mortall meanes' of Ovid are contrasted with the remedy that divine grace offers.

line 1] Rachel Speght does not discuss The Bearbaiting because 'I am ignorant of their dispositions' (G3<sup>r</sup>) although she might have had occasion to comment on the largely jocular nature of this part of The Araignement of Women.

lines 7-8] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, R4<sup>v</sup>: 'The unfortunate young man knowes not, what greefe he joynes to his gaine, in matching with an olde widdow'.

lines 10-12] Cf. G3<sup>v</sup>, lines 10-15.

lines 15-16] Proverbial; Tilley E186.

lines 19-23] Unidentified, but probably a jest-book anecdote.

line 28] The peacock is here presented as the symbol of pride and vanity, the woodcock as the symbol of stupidity.

lines 9-15] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, R4<sup>v</sup>: 'if her husband commaund her will, she straight waies saileth, her other Husband was more kinde: if he chance to dine from home, she willes him to sup with his harlots: if he spend beyond her allowance, thus she reviles him: A Beggar I found thee, and so thou wilt leave me'.

lines 21-24] Ibid., R4<sup>v</sup>: 'if he come in well disposed, and affably intreateth her, she calleth him dissembling hypocrit, & saith, he saluteth her with his tongue, but his heart imagineth of his minions abroad'.

line 26] Proverbial; Tilley W265.

line 3] Proverbial; Tilley C453. This proverb also occurs on C2<sup>v</sup>, line 15.

lines 6-19] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, S1<sup>v</sup>: 'a slut like the furie of lothsomnes, shal bring in dinner, because the jelous wife, dare not trust her husband with any maid that is handsome: the husband offended, throweth the Platters at her head, and asketh if she meane to poyson him: the wife taketh pepper in the nose, and saith, if he had not married her, he would have been glad of the worst morsel there. The husband replieth, that if he had not been so mad, the divell would not have married her'.

line 7] EDD, ii.1194-5: '6. Affected as with burning. b. affected with venereal disease'. 'Brended' is a dialect form, mostly northern English, of 'burned'.

line 13] Proverbial; Tilley P321.

lines 14-15] Proverbial; cf. Tilley C783.

lines 19-22] Cf. George Whetstone, Aurelia, R4<sup>v</sup>: 'he blameth her of olde age, jelosie, curstnesse, scowlding: and for hiding of her goods, which he hath bought, with dooing injurie unto his person'.

lines 23-30] Ibid., R4<sup>v</sup>: 'she runneth to the neighbors to complaine: in the mean while hee sendeth her corne to the market, and her cattell to the Faire, if the friends of good will, or neighbours of charitie, labour to accord their contention (as she imagineth to shame him) she thundreth out a thousand injuries that hee doth her [...] she sheweth how he plaieth away her gaines at Dice: she crieth out, that (perforce) hee taketh away what hee openly findeth, and privilie stealeth what she secretly hideth'.

line 31] Ibid., R4<sup>v</sup>: 'no longer then she feedeth him with Coyne, shall she enjoy his companie'. The marginal note to this passage refers to 'PLATOES Hell in Marriage'.



lines 5-9] Ibid., R4<sup>v</sup>: 'for her owne praise, she saith, that of pure love she married him with nothing: and to reproach him, she sweares, hee hath spent her substance, and hateth her person: To shew her owne good huswiferie, she tels that she worketh all day at her Distaffe'.

lines 9-10] Ibid., S2<sup>r</sup>: 'And although you have stretched their debates, upon the rack of vengeance'.

lines 11-13] Ibid., S1<sup>v</sup>: 'if they be in the morning quieted, and goe home in peace, at noone like enemies they are redy to throwe the house out at the window'.

line 13] Proverbial; Tilley H785.

lines 17-18] Proverbial; Tilley W335. The earliest instance quoted in Wilson, p.514, comes from The Autobiography of Thomas Wythorne (1576), ed. J.M. Osborn, p.98, who refers to it as 'an old sayeng'. Tilley's earliest recorded instance dates to 1658.

lines 18-28] Unidentified, but probably a jest-book anecdote.

lines 29-31] Cf. Leonard Wright, A Display of Dutie, D3<sup>r</sup>: 'A merry fellow hearing a Preacher say in his sermon: that whosoever would be saved, must take up, and beare his crosse: ran straight to his wife, & cast her upon his back'.

lines 1-3] see I3<sup>v</sup>, lines 29-31.

lines 4-5] Proverbial; Tilley S132.

lines 4-9] A jest-book anecdote, originally an anecdote in Plutarch, Morals, Dd4<sup>r</sup>.

Cf. Nicholas Ling, Politeuphia, D7<sup>v</sup>: 'Like as no man can tell where a shoe wringeth him, better then he that weareth it, so no man can tell a womans disposition better then he that hath wedded her. Mar. Aur.'.

lines 10-19] A popular jest-book anecdote, cf. Pasquills Jests, in Shakespeare's Jest-Books, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, p.5: 'Another man beeing upon the Sea (in a great Tempest, and danger of Ship-wracke), was commaunded to cast something forth that might best be spared, to lighten the burden of the shippe. Who answered, he would cast out his wife'.

Cf. also Tarltons Jests, in Shakespeare's Jest-Books, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, p.234: 'Upon a time, as Tarlton and his wife, as passengers, came sailing, from Southampton towards London, a mighty storme arose, and endangered the ship; whereupon the captaine thereof charged every man to throw into the seas the heaviest thing hee could best spare, to the end to lighten somewhat the ship. Tarlton, that had his wife there, offered to throw her overboard; but the company rescued her, and being asked wherefore he meant so to doe, he answered: she is the heaviest thing I have, and I can best spare her'.

lines 20-27] A jest-book anecdote, originally attributed to Diogenes, cf. Erasmus, Apophthegmes, q2<sup>r</sup>: 'When he had on a tyme espyed women hanging uppon an olive tree, and there strangled to death with the halters: would god, saied he, that the other trees too had like fruite hangyng on them'.

lines 29-30] Proverbial; Tilley G151.

line 7] Proverbial; Tilley H1841; cf. John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, p.239, lines 32-33.

lines 10-16] Ibid., p.203, lines 15-20.

lines 24-26] Ibid., p.223, lines 17-19.

line 26] Proverbial; Tilley W509.  
line 27] Proverbial; Tilley B377.

## Notes to chapter 1

For titles of books in the STC and Wing STC period, the spelling and punctuation used in the STC and Wing STC respectively have been adopted. Titles in the text have been capitalised.

1. In the period 1610-1615 there appeared: Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, The roaring girle. Or Moll Cut-purse, London 1611; George Chapman, The widdowes teares, London 1612; Nathan Field, A woman is a weather-cocke, London 1613; John Marston, The insatiate countess, London 1613; Samuel Rowlands, A crew of kind gossips, all met to be merry, London 1613; F.S., The picture of a wanton, London 1615.

William Goddard's A satyricall dialogue [...] betweene Alexander the great and that trueye woman-hater Diogenes, [Dort?], addressed to 'all such gentlewomen as are not altogether Idle nor yet well occupied' (title-page) was printed abroad, and probably a year later than The arraignment of women.

This list is based on the chronological card index to STC (first edition) in the British Library, and checked against revised STC.

2. Cf. L.B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, London 1964, p.482.

3. Thomas Brewer, Mistris Turners repentance, entered 23 November 1615 (Edward Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D., Gloucester, Mass. 1967, iii.578. Hereafter referred to as Arber); Richard Niccols, Sir Thomas Overburies vision. With the ghosts of Weston, M<sup>rs</sup> Turner, [etc]., London 1616; The bloody downfall of adultery. Murder, ambition, at the end of which are added Westons, and Mistris Turners last teares [...], London 1615. John Trundle entered 'A little poeme called Mistris Turnores teares' on 29 November 1615 (Arber, iii.579). See also Thomas Tuke, A treatise against paint[ing] and tincturing of men and women: against murther and poysoning, London 1616, 12<sup>v</sup>.

4. The Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. N.E. McClure, Westport, Conn. 1979, ii.17. Hereafter referred to as Chamberlain, Letters.

5. A survey of verse and prose attacks on women up to 1610 based on the the chronological card index to STC (checked against revised STC):

| date    | author          | title  |
|---------|-----------------|--|
| [1505?] | Copland, R.     | The complaint of them that be too late married             |
| [1507?] | Dunbar, W.      | The tua mariit wemen and the wedo                          |
| [c1507] | La Sale, A.de   | The fifteen joys of mariage                                |
| [1510?] |                 | Here is the boke of mayde Emly[n]                          |
| 1521    | Skelton, J.     | The tunning of Elinor Rumming                              |
| [1525?] |                 | He [sic] begynneth an interlocucion, betwyxt man and woman |
| 1525    | Smith, W.       | The wydow Edyth  |
| [c1530] |                 | The payne and sorowe of evyll maryage                      |
| 1535    | Copland, R.     | A complaynt of them that be to soone maryed                |
| 1541    | [Gosynhill, E.] | The scholehouse of women                                   |
| [1542?] | Gosynhill, E.   | The prayse of all women, called mulieru[m] pean            |
| [c1550] | Bansley, C.     | A treatyse, shewing and declaring the pryde of women       |
| [1557?] |                 | The deceyte of women                                       |
| 1560    |                 | A preaty interlude called, Nice wanton                     |
| 1560    |                 | The proude wyves pater noster                              |
| [1567?] | Copland, R.     | Jyl of braintfords testament                               |
| [c1565] | Copland, R.     | The seven sorowes that women have                          |
| 1569    | Pyrrye, C.      | The praise and dispraise of women                          |

- [1574] R.C. A new booke Intituled the blasinge of bawdrie  
 1578 [Averell, W.] A speciall remedie against the furious force of lawlesse love
- [1580?] Herebegynnetha merry jeste of a shrewde and curste wyfe
- 1594 A pleasant conceited historie, called the taming of a shrew
- (1595) [Gosson, S.] Pleasant quippes for upstart newfangled women  
 1599 Tasso, E. Of mariage and wiving  
 1602 Rowlands, S. Tis merrie when gossips meete  
 1603 [Dekker, T.] The batchelars banquet
6. Linda Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance. Literature and the Nature of Womanhood, 1540-1620, Urbana, Ill. 1986, p.25.
7. Ibid., p.18. Sir Thomas Elyot, The defence of good women, London 1540.
8. [Edward Gosynhill], The scholehouse of women, London 1541. Francis Lee Utley, The Crooked Rib. An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568, Columbus 1944, p.30.
9. Edward Gosynhill, The prayse of all women, called mulieru[m] pean, London [1542?]. Edward More, A lytle and bryefe treatyse, called the defence of women, London 1560. The printer John Kynge, who reprinted The scholehouse of women in 1560, also brought out More's response.
10. For a discussion of biological and medical views on women in the Renaissance, see Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life, Cambridge 1981, pp.28-46.
11. Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor. An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis (1517-1633), Chapel Hill, N.C. 1948, pp.5-6.
- Williams has estimated that between 1525 and 1633 about forty commentaries on Genesis were printed on the Continent and in England (p.6), and that between 1570 and 1640 more than a hundred printed English sermons were based on texts from Genesis (p.37). He writes that one reason for the preponderance of commentaries on the first Mosaic book compared to other books of the Bible was 'that some exegetes, undertaking to comment on the whole of the Bible, never got beyond Genesis' (p.9).
12. Ibid., p.125.
13. Thomas Nash, The anatomie of absurditie, London 1589, \*3<sup>v</sup>.
14. I.G., An apologie for women-kinde, London 1605, B3<sup>r</sup>. The usual comment made by detractors of women here was that Eve was assailed first because she was morally and intellectually weaker than man, and so more inclined to greed and ambition.
15. Jane Anger, Jane Anger her protection for women, London 1589, B3<sup>r</sup>.
16. Andrew Willet, Hexapla in Genesin, London 1608, D1<sup>r</sup>. The first edition was printed in 1605.
17. The scholehouse of women, 1560 edition, C4<sup>v</sup>.
18. Biblical commentators expounded these places in Genesis. A later defence of women, Haec homo, published posthumously in London in 1637, written by the divine William Austin, uses the same arguments. He contends that the differences between man and woman at the time of their creation only add to the praise of women (B3<sup>r</sup>).
19. Cf. William Whately, Prototypes, London 1640, B2<sup>rv</sup>: woman is 'helpfull to him as being made of a rib a helpfull bone in his side, and to instruct him that he should account her deare unto him [...] using her as in a manner his equall, as being a peece of himselfe and extracted from his own side'.

20. C. Pyrrye, The praise and dispraise of Women, London [1569], A8<sup>r</sup>. Pyrrye gives Ovid's Metamorphoses as the source of his examples. He also provides a list of classical and biblical virtuous women (C3<sup>r</sup>-D5<sup>v</sup>).

21. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.15, discusses Boccaccio's De claris mulieribus as the 'most important single source of classical exempla in the formal controversy between 1540 and 1620'. Boccaccio mentioned the positive and negative qualities of Semiramis in his biography of her.

22. Thomas Nash, The anatomie of absurditie, A2<sup>v</sup>.

23. Jane Anger, Jane Anger her protection for women, B3<sup>v</sup>.

24. Cf. William Heale, An apologie for women, Oxford 1609, who scorned the use of 'particular example, which never concludeth' (D2<sup>r</sup>). Christopher Newstead, in An apology for women, London 1620, qualifies his use of examples: 'examples must be my only Medium, which although they bee not demonstrable arguments to prove a truth, yet they are probable, for [...] wee may best judge of the present by things past' (C2<sup>v</sup>).

25. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.29.

26. W.S. Howell, Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500-1700, New York 1961, p.106.

27. Ibid., p.71. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.25. Woodbridge provides an excellent analysis of The scholehouse of women (1541), which she takes as the starting attack in the formal controversy in England, as an example of the judicial oration used for the purposes of attack (pp.25-31).

28. Marc Angenot, Les Champions des Femmes. Examen du discours sur la supériorité des femmes 1400-1800, Quebec 1977, p.152.

29. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.17.

30. Jane Anger, Jane Anger her protection for women, B1<sup>r</sup>.

Torquato Tasso, who answered his cousin Ercole Tasso's attack on women (translated into English as Of marriage and wiving, London 1599), supposed that Ercole wanted perhaps to 'make some prooffe of the excellencies of your sharpe wit?' (H1<sup>v</sup>).

31. Disputatio nova contra mulieres qui probatur eas homines non esse, translated into Dutch [from the German?] as t'Samenspraek, of de Vrouwen Menschen zijn, of niet, Utrecht 1687. See chapter 4.3.

32. A.G., Der vrouwen schildt, Leyden 1645, A2<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup>, Epistle to the Reader, in which the author refers to banquets during which the male and female guests amuse themselves with sallies against the opposite sex: 'Ende alsoo meestendeel in dusdanighe vrolicke maeltijden tweederhande gheslachten van menschen sijn, naemlijck, Mannelijcke ende Vrouwelijcke, soo gebeurt het menichmael van vreugde ende vrolickheyt, datse d'een teghen den anderen oprijzen, met gemaecte vermakende Strijdt-redenen, ende als geveynsde schermutseeringhen, elckanderen verheughende, soo in 't verstandt, als in de redenen, elck om te best sijn geslachte voorstaende en verweerende te sijn' (A3<sup>r</sup>). [And as there are usually two sexes present during such merry banquets, to wit, the male and the female sex, it often happens, out of mirth and jest, that they confront eachother, with framed, amusing arguments, and mock fights, thus delighting eachother, and striving to their utmost to commend and defend their own sex, with wit and reasons].

33. Jane Anger, Jane Anger her protection for women, B1<sup>r</sup>.

34. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.17.

35. Ibid., p.91.

36. See chapter 2.2.3.

37. Marie de Gournay, l'Egalité des Hommes et des Femmes (1622) in Bibliothèque Littéraire de la Renaissance, eds. P. de Nolhac and L. Dorez, Paris 1910, p.64, 65.

38. See chapter 3.2.3 and 3.4 for Rachel Speght's and Constantia Munda's responses to Swetnam's use of similes.

39. Ester Sowernam, Ester hath hang'd Haman, London 1617, A2<sup>r</sup>: 'being at supper amongst friends, where the number of eache sexe were equall; As nothing is more usuall for table-talke; there fell out a discourse concerning women, some defending, others objecting against our Sex: Vpon which occasion, there happened a mention of a Pamphlet entituled The Arraignment of Women, which I was desirous to see. The next day a Gentleman brought me the Booke'. See note 32 above for a Dutch reference to such banquets some twenty-five years later.

40. See chapter 3.2.1.

41. Utley, The Crooked Rib, p.49.

42. Henry Smith, A preparative to marriage, London 1591, F3<sup>v</sup>.

43. Samuel Hieron, The bridegroom, London 1613, B7<sup>v</sup>.

44. William Whately, A care-cloth, London 1624, F1<sup>r</sup>.

45. The Life, Letters, and Writings of John Hoskyns 1566-1638, ed. L.B. Osborn, New Haven 1937, pp.80-1. The letter is dated 6 February 1618 (n.s.).

46. Ibid., p.87. The letter is dated 3 February 1621 (n.s.).

47. The Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, 1602-1603, ed. John Bruce, London 1868, pp.171-2.

Manningham heard about Hemming's sermon from a 'Mr. Osborne'. He describes him as a former student of Trinity College, Cambridge (see J. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses [...] from the earliest times to 1900, Nendeln / Liechtenstein 1974, I:ii.353). Hemming died in 1601.

48. John Lane, Tom Tel-Troths message, and his pens complaint, London 1600, A4<sup>r</sup>.

49. Tell-Trothes new-yeares gift beeing Robin Good-fellowes newes, London 1593, A2<sup>r</sup>. Quotations from F.J. Furnivall's edition for the New Shakespeare Society Publications, London 1876, A2<sup>r</sup>.

50. The payne and sorowe of evyll maryage, in Early English Poetry, London 1842, p.21.

51. Utley in The Crooked Rib, p.49, points out that 'such counsels were not exclusively the product of satire; they were also a fundamental bulwark of the sober marriage treatise'.

52. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 25.15.

53. See notes to C1<sup>v</sup> in the commentary to the text.

54. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.87, argues from the point of view of the formal controversy that Swetnam 'neither respects nor understands the genre'.

55. Ercole Tasso, Of marriage and wiving, C3<sup>r</sup>.

56. The scholehouse of women, for example, concludes that 'were[t] not for two small venialles./ The feminine might be glorified,/ ... / They can neither doo, nor yet say well', D3<sup>v</sup>.

57. C. Pyrrye, The praise and dispraise of women, A2<sup>r</sup>-A3<sup>v</sup>: 'I did it in hope to profit many, but surely to hurte none. And whereas I have made the praise of women to sounde in such sorte throughlie, & I mought seeme vehementlie to gainsay my selfe for speakinge so much in theyr dispraise, I did it being moved therto for divers good considerations, which I minde not to recite, but leave it unspoken willing the[e] herein to use thine owne judgement'.

58. C. Pyrrye's double production The praise and dispraise of women is an obvious example.

59. J.L. Lievsay, Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, London 1961. See chapter 2.2.1.

60. Henry Smith, A preparative to marriage, C7<sup>r</sup>.

61. Cf. F3<sup>v</sup>, lines 6-11 in the commentary to the text.

62. The boke of mayd Emlyn and Robert Copland's The seven sorowes that women have when theyr husbandes be deade, are popular sixteenth-century stereotypes of lustful widows. In the early seventeenth century George Chapman's play The widdowes teares, published in London in 1612, presents the popular stereotype about widows in the words of Tharsalio, who woos a widowed countess and has no doubt that he will soon win her: 'how short liv'd Widdowes teares are,/ that their weeping is in truth but laughing under a Maske' (B2<sup>v</sup>). The countess, who vowed to keep the 'unstained honour of a Widdowes bed' (B2<sup>v</sup>), soon yields after Tharsalio's qualities as a lover have been recommended to her.

63. John Chamberlain voices the popular prejudice against these unequal marriages in a letter to Dudley Carleton, dated 16 October 1619: 'Sir Garratt Samms is in hot pursuit, and in great hopes of obtaining the widow Saxie, which I shold take for no great purchase, for his fathers only sonne to marrie a wife almost double his age for a matter of five or sixe thousands pounds at most, but that necessitie hath no law, or reason' (Chamberlain, Letters, 11.268).

64. See notes to I2<sup>v</sup>-I3<sup>r</sup> in the commentary to the text.

65. See notes to I4<sup>v</sup>, lines 7-26 in the commentary to the text.

66. Cf. The scholehouse of women, written 'But that the masculine might heerby/ Have somewhat to jest with the feminy' (D4<sup>v</sup>).

1. G. Ormerod, History of the County Palatine and Chester, London 1882, p.72: 'The mediate lords of Swettenham assumed the local name at an early period. Peter de Swettenham, with whom the pedigrees commence, was living temp. Hen. III'.

The Swettenhams of Swettenham and the younger branch of the family the Swetenhams of Somerford Booths, both in the county of Cheshire, are mentioned in J. Burke, A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, London 1833-38, i.640-2, ii.459-61.

Pedigrees of both Swettenham families are reproduced in Burke and Ormerod. Joseph Swetnam does not occur in either pedigree. The references to the family name of Swet(t)enham or Swetnam in the genealogical guides of G.B. Barrow, The Genealogist's Guide, London 1977, G.W. Marshall, The Genealogists' Guide to printed Pedigrees, London 1903 and J.B. Whitmore, A Genealogical Guide, London 1953, all refer to these two branches.

2. J.H. Morrison, P.C.C. Letters of Administration 1620-1630, London 1935, p.103, refers to Swetnam (7004) and his daughter (7005). The letters of administration kept at the PRO which he refers to are to be found in PROB 6/10/f.140 and PROB 6/12/f.96.

Joseph Swetnam is not mentioned in any of the lists of early settlers in the American colonies, cf. James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the first settlers of New England, New York 1977 and John Camden Holten, The Original Lists of Persons of Quality [...] and others who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations 1600-1700, New York 1874. Nor does his name occur in the indices to CSP Ireland.

3. The text of PROB 6/10/f.140 for Joseph Swetnam reads: 'Duodecimo die emanavit com[m]issio Elizabeth Merricke filiae naturali et l[egi]timae Josephi Swetnam nuper in p[ar]tibus transmarinis decedentis habentis etc. ad administrandum bona iura et credita dicti defuncti bene etc. iuratis'.

The marginal note on the left reads: 'Josephus Swetnam, de bonis etc. commissis mense July 1626', a reference to the text of PROB 6/12/f.96. The marginal note on the right reads: 'in p[ar]tibus decedentis etc. 21<sup>li</sup>'.

PROB 54/11 is a Register of Bonds of Administration for the period 1617-1620 covering all grants of administration for these years. The bonds usually specify the goods and chattels of the intestate, but since PROB 54/11 does not run to 1621 - although it is described as such in the PRO index - there is no insight to be had into Swetnam's possessions at the time of his death.

4. The Registers of the Church of St. Augustine the Less 1577-1700 Bristol, ed. A. Sabin, Bristol 1956, p.36: '4 Nov Rice Merricke & Elisabeth Swetnam mayden'.

5. It has been estimated for London in the period 1598-1618 that the median age at first marriage of single women born in London was 20,5 years; for migrant brides the figure was 24,2 years. See V.B. Elliot, 'Single Women in the London Marriage Market: Age, Status and Mobility, 1598-1618', pp.86-7, in Marriage and Society. Studies in the Social History of Marriage, ed. R.B. Outhwaite, London 1981. The figures for London may perhaps serve as an indication of the marriage pattern for Bristol, the second largest urban centre in England at the time.

6. Although Swetnam is described in the letter of administration as a resident of Bristol, it is not known in which parish he resided. The index to the parish registers of St. Augustine the Less, Bristol, where his daughter was married, does not mention Joseph Swetnam. There are only a few published parish registers available for Bristol covering this period, and a search of the personal names index to the Bristol parish registers did not yield any results. The transcripts of the parish registers of the counties of Somerset,



Cornwall, Devonshire, Gloucestershire and Cheshire in Phillimore's Parish Register Series have been checked up to 1600 for entries concerning Joseph Swetnam. Boyd's Marriage Index at the Genealogical Society, London, has been checked for all counties in the period 1538-1625, but again there is no mention of Joseph Swetnam. Boyd's Marriage Index has a 12% coverage of all the marriages contracted in England in the period 1538-1837 (Society of Genealogists' Guide, London 1986, pp.7-8).

7. The text of the letter of administration reads: 'Decimo quinto die emanavit com[m]issio Francisco doughty seniori de hamsted in com[itate] Glouc[esterensi] uni creditoru[m] Josephi swetnam nuper de civit[ate] Bristoll ac deceden[tis] in p[ar]tibus transmarinis haben[tis] etc. ad administrandum bona iura et credita dicti defuncti et Elizabetham Merricke filiam ac nuper Administatricem bonorum dicti defuncti (iam etiam de morte) non plene administratorum de bene etc. iuratis'.

The marginal notes on the left read: 'Josephus Swetnam' and 'W'. [ ] commissis mense Octobr: 1621', which refers back to PROB 6/10/f.140. The marginal notes on the right read: 'Bristoll' and [ ] [?fide] 1627'.

8. Francis Doughty married Margaret Barker on 24 June 1600 in Westbury-on-Trim (The Church Registers [A.D. 1559-1713] of the Ancient Parish of Westbury-on-Trim, ed. H.J. Wilkins, D.D., Bristol 1912, p.17. No information is given about age or status.

The personal names index at the Gloucestershire County Record Office does not contain a reference to this Francis Doughty.

9. A John Doughty, mayor of Bristol in 1620, was senior captain of the Bristol trained bands. He died on 20 December 1629. (F.F. Fox, Adams's Chronicle of Bristol, Bristol 1910). He may have been related to Francis Doughty, and so provide a link with Joseph Swetnam.

10. Jane Cox, in Records of the P.C.C. Provisional Guide, London 1980, p.4, writes that the majority of the population settled their estates without recourse to the law. Letters of administration were taken out if there was a great deal of money involved, if someone needed a legal title to the estate or if the family were divided. Ordinarily there was no legal obligation to take out letters of administration. Swetnam may have taken out a letter of administration because he had creditors when he left England and wished to settle his estate on his daughter.

11. PRO E 157 contains licences to pass abroad dating to the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. E 157/2/3/4/5/6/7 contain registers of soldiers having taken the oath of allegiance before boarding ship to go to the Netherlands or Germany in the 1610s and early 1620s. The later documents, E 157/5/6/7, list groups of soldiers collectively, whereas the earlier documents have individual entries and are more specific: they include the soldier's age, place of birth, the destination and the captain of the company in which he is to serve. Most destinations stated are located in the Netherlands, in the early 1620s also Cleves and Goch as well as Bohemia. The records are incomplete, either because parts are missing, or because of clerical omissions. Swetnam's name does not occur in these lists.

12. Joseph Swetnam, The schoole of the noble and worthy science of defence, London 1617. 4<sup>o</sup>, A-Ff4. (§3) 224 leaves. Pp. [30] 1-182 [20]. A1<sup>r</sup> title, A1<sup>v</sup> blank, A2<sup>r</sup>-A3<sup>v</sup> Epistle to Prince Charles (Ital. w. Rom. R-T), A4<sup>r</sup>-C2<sup>v</sup> Epistle to the Common Reader (Rom. w. Ital. R-T), C3<sup>r</sup>-D2<sup>v</sup> Preface to the Professors of Defence (Ital. w. Rom. R-T), D3<sup>r</sup> Table of Contents (Ital. w. Rom. R-T), D4<sup>r</sup>-Ee3<sup>v</sup> (pp.1-182) Text The Schoole of Defence (Rom. w. Ital. R-T), Ee4<sup>r</sup>-Ff1<sup>v</sup> 'My farewell to Plymouth' (Rom. w. Ital. R-T), F[f]2<sup>r</sup> -Ff3<sup>v</sup> The Authors Conclusion (Rom. w. Ital. R-T), Ff4<sup>r</sup> Okes's device (see R.B. McKerrow, Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485-1640,

London 1949, no. 367), Ff4<sup>v</sup> blank. The title-page is reproduced in Shakespeare's England, ed. W.A. Raleigh et al., Oxford 1966, ii.393.

13. Okes worked for Thomas Archer on a number of occasions; he printed Rachel Speght's A mouzell for Melastomus for him in 1617. But he also entered books in the Stationers' Registers in his own right, so it cannot be established whether the manuscript of The schoole of defence was offered directly to Okes, or via another stationer.

14. O.M. Willard, Jaggard's Catalogue of English Books, Palo Alto, Calif. 1941, p.67.

Swetnam's The schoole of defence is included in the 'History' section of Jaggard's catalogue. Willard, p.152, writes that Jaggard's catalogue was 'no more than a temporary convenience to the book trade', and that he was 'content to enumerate only those books of which fairly large stocks were at the moment available to the trade'.

15. E. Castle, Schools and Masters of Defence, London 1885, p.26.

16. J.D. Aylward, The English Master of Arms from the twelfth to the twentieth century, London 1956, pp.17-18. Although Castle, Schools and Masters of Defence, p.17, believes that the Masters of Defence were incorporated, Aylward, p. 18, writes that there is no surviving evidence of a Patent of Incorporation.

17. John Stow, Annals, London 1631, continued by E. Howes, p.1087. The Appendix containing a description of the 'Third University of England', in which the London fencing schools are discussed, was added to the 1615 edition.

18. Ibid., p.1087, 'The manner of proceeding of our Fencers in their Schooles, is this: first they which desire to bee taught, at their admission are called Schollers, and as they profit, they take degrees, and proceede to be Provosts of Defence, and that must be wonne by publique tryall of their proficiency, and of their skills at certaine weapons, which they call prizes, and in the presence, and view, of many hundreds of people. And at their next and last prize, well and sufficiently performed, they do proceede Masters of the science of Defence or Masters of Fence, as wee commonly call them. The King ordained that none but such as have thus orderly proceeded by publique act and triall, and have the approbation, of the principall Masters of their company, may professe or teach this Art of Defence publikely in any part of England'. See also Aylward, The English Master of Arms, pp.22-23.

19. The minute book of the London Society of Masters of Defence for the years 1573-1589 is preserved in Sloane MS 2530.

20. Sloane MS 2530, fol.31<sup>r</sup>, includes a copy of 'A Master's Letter concerning Letters Patent', granted by Elizabeth 'under her signet broad seale' for 1568, but there is no evidence in CSPD of a record of these Letters Patent.

James I appointed eleven Masters of Defence on 6 July 1605 to form a commission for the establishment of a new Society of Masters of Defence. The grant is reprinted in Thomas Rymer's Foedera, London 1704-32, xvi.631-2, and in Aylward, The English Master of Arms, pp.258-60.

21. Aylward, The English Master of Arms, p.19.

22. George Hale, The private schoole of defence, London 1614. As Swetnam was to do three years later, Hale dedicated his work to Prince Charles. Hale probably dedicated his book with an eye to possible employment in Charles's household (A7<sup>r</sup>).

23. Biography of George Silver, DNB 111.250, by S. Lee. George Silver's Paradoxes of defence was published in London in 1599.

24. Samuel Rowlands, The letting of humours blood in the head-vaine, London 1600, A4<sup>v</sup>, Epigram 2.

John Marston in The scourge of villanie, London 1599 (first edition 1598),

ridicules in his tenth satire the esoteric pretences of the mystery of defence:

Oh come not within distance: Martius speaks,  
Who ne're discourseth but of fencing feates,  
Of counter times, tinctures, sly passates,  
Stramazones, resolute Stoccataes,  
Of the quick change with whipping mandritta,  
The carricado, with th'embrocata,  
Oh, by Jesu Sir (me thinkes I heare him cry)  
The honourable fencing mistery  
Who doth not honour? Then fals he in againe,  
Lading our eares, and somewhat must be faine,  
Of blades, and Rapier-hilts, of surest garde,  
Of Vincentio, and the Burgonians ward. (H4<sup>v</sup>)

The 'Vincentio' in the last line refers to the Italian fencing master Vincentio Saviolo. George Silver, Paradoxes of defence, \*1<sup>v</sup>, refers in his Dedicatory Epistle to the 'Stocata, a reversa, a Dritta, a Stramason' as 'toyes [which] are fit for children, not for men, for stragling boyes of the Campe, to murder poultry, not for men of Honour to trie the battell with their foes'.

25. A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns [...] 1485-1714, ed. R. Steele, Oxford 1910: p.132, no 1125/ 16 January 1613 (N.S.), against the use of pocket-dagges and pistols; p.133, no 1134/ 15 October 1613, prohibiting the publishing of any reports or writings of Duels; p.134, no 1142/ 4 February 1614 (N.S.), against private challenges and combats; p.134 no 1143, 1614, against private combats and combatants; p.140, no 1184/ 26 March 1616, against steelets, Pocket Daggers, Pocket Dagges and Pistols.

In 1613 appeared A publication of his majesties edict, and severe censure against private combats and combatants, followed by The charge of Sir Francis Bacon Knight touching duells in 1614.

26. In the two decades prior to The schoole of defence the following books on fencing appeared: Giacomo di Grassi, Di Grassi his true arte of defence, London 1594; Vincentio Saviolo, Vincentio Saviolo his practise, London 1595; George Silver, Paradoxes of defence, London 1599; George Hale, The private schoole of defence, London 1614. Giacomo di Grassi's book was the first fencing manual to be published in English.

27. Castle, Schools and Masters of Fence, p.xlv.

Aylward, The English Master of Arms, p.79, points out that Swetnam borrowed from George Silver's Paradoxes of defence. Swetnam refers to George Silver's Paradoxes of defence on Cc2<sup>r</sup>.

Swetnam's borrowing from Paradoxes of defence is limited to a single instance. He adapted a eulogistic passage on fencing, which in George Silver's book reads: 'the Science [of Defence], it is noble, and in mine opinio[n] to be preferred next to Divinitie; for as Divinitie preserveth the soule from hell and the divell, so doth this noble Science defend the bodie from wounds & slaughter. And moreover, the exercising of weapons putteth away aches, griefes, and diseases, it increaseth strength, and sharpneth the wits, it giveth a perfect judgement, it expelleth melancholy, cholericke and evill conceits, it keepeth a man in breath, perfect health, and long life. It is unto him that hath the perfection thereof, a most friendly and comfortable companion when he is alone, having but only his weapon about him, it putteth him out of all feare, & in the warres and places of most danger it maketh him bold, hardie, and valiant' (B1<sup>v</sup>).

Swetnam agrees wholeheartedly, and at the same time he is more expansive than Silver: 'skill in weapons is so honourable and so precious a thing, that

in my mind it may be preferred next unto divinity, for as divinity preserveth the soules of those which follow it, from hell and the divell, so doth this noble and worthy science of defence defend the body from hurts and skars of those which learne it, but those which neither follow the one nor learne the other, the first sort for ought I know may goe throw fire brands in hell, and the second sort may sit in an alehouse, and there shew many hurts, and likewise tell how many wounds he hath about his body [...] the use and practice of weapons, doth drive away all aches, griefes, and diseases, it removeth congealed blood, and breaketh impostumes, it maketh the body nimble, and plyant, it sharpneth the wit, it increaseth the sight, and procureth strength, and expelleth melancholy and cholericknes, and many other evil conceits, it keepeth a man in breath, in perfect health, it makes him to be of longe life which useth it, it is unto him which hath the perfect skill in weapons, a most friendly & comfortable companio[n], when he is alone, having but only his weapons about him, it putteth him out of all feare, and in the wars and places of most danger it maketh a man bold, hardy valiant, and venturous' (C1<sup>rv</sup>).

28. Apart from the fencing manuals mentioned in note 26 above, the following works, military treatises and handbooks of military etiquette, came out in the two decades prior to the publication of The schoole of defence: Sir William Segar, The booke of honor and armes, London 1590; Matthew Sutcliffe, The practice, proceedings, and lawes of armes, London 1593; Sir William Segar, Honor military, and civill, London 1602.

29. Quotations throughout are taken from The schoole of defence.

30. For a discussion of Swetnam's proverbialism see 2.2.2.

31. See the commentary to the text, H1<sup>r</sup>, lines 4-13.

32. Neither Tilley nor Wilson cite an instance of this phrase, although again it has a proverbial ring.

33. George Silver and George Hale do not describe themselves as masters of defence but as 'gentlemen', so that Swetnam's claim may be, strictly speaking, true. Aylward, The English Master of Arms, p.79, considers Swetnam's claim as a 'further proof of Silver's non-professional status'.

34. In 'The Authors Conclusion', he again writes that 'this Booke was printed in haste, at the earnest request of some friends of mine' (F[f]2<sup>r</sup>).

The protestation of authors, that they were urged by friends to publish their manuscripts, was of course common enough, so Swetnam's claims about the anonymous enthusiasm expressed for his fencing manual have no real value.

35. The fencing masters he mentions are Master Turner, John Dun, Henry Adlington, John Devell, Furlong, Westcoat, Richard Caro and 'old Carter of Worcester' (C3<sup>v</sup>-C4<sup>r</sup>).

John Dun was killed by Master Turner on 7 February 1603. John Chamberlain reports to his friend Dudley Carleton on 11 February 1603 that Dun died after having been thrust through the eye by Turner during a prize fight at the Swan on the Bankside (Chamberlain, Letters, i.184). Turner also died violently in May 1612, killed by men of Robert Crichton, Lord Sanquhar. Turner had earlier wounded Sanquhar during practice in August 1604, as a result of which Sanquhar had lost an eye. Turner was murdered 'upon the old grudge' (Ibid., i.348). Sanquhar was indicted and sentenced for murder in June of 1612 (Ibid., i.362). The murder of Turner by Scotsmen may have stirred popular sentiment; James I ordered Turner's body to be buried privately to avoid 'concourse of people that might breed inconvenience' (Ibid., i.349). In the same letter Chamberlain also hints at Sanquhar's unfavourable reputation.

Henry Adlington was executed in 1600 for killing 'a man' (the victim appears to have been unspecified in Stow's Annals; but see G.B. Harrison's A Last Elizabethan Journal, London 1974, p.64, who identifies him as John Devell). A ballad on the execution of Henry Adlington survives in manuscript.

He is described as 'one of the Cutting Crewe in London' (Roxburghe Ballads, New York 1966, viii.847). See also Aylward, The English Master of Arms, pp.83-4 for John Devell, who appears to have been living in London in 1583. John Devell was admitted Provost on 10 August 1582 by the London Masters of Defence (Sloane MS 2530, fol.12<sup>r</sup>).

Furlong, Westcoat, Richard Caro and Carter have not been identified.

G.G. Langsam, Martial Books and Tudor Verse, New York 1951, p.33, discusses the profile of the soldier in military books of the Tudor period and notes: 'Whatever the soldier may be, the militarists agree that he should be pious. Faced with the constant threat of violent death, he is like a man who is very sick, and had best see to the well-being of his soul at times'. Swetnam's ideas in The schoole of defence are thus completely in line with the conventions of military writing.

36. See Aylward, The English Master of Arms, p.21: 'Matthews, Turner and Bradshaw were members of the Commission of 1605'.

37. The peace with Spain was proclaimed on 19 August 1604. (S.R. Gardiner, History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1640, New York 1965, i.214. Hereafter referred to as Gardiner, History of England).

38. Cf. G.B. Harrison, A Second Elizabethan Journal, London 1974, pp.102-3, based on Thomas Birch, Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, London 1754.

H.F. Whitfield, Plymouth and Davenport: in times of war and peace, Plymouth 1900, p.64: 'When the Second Armada sailed out, Plymouth was held by three hundred horse and ten thousand infantry, who were disposed around St. Budeaux and along the banks of the Tamar, to prevent an overland attack from the Cornish side'.

39. Joseph Swetnam does not occur in the indices of the Devon Record Office in connection with either fencing or the Armada. The parish register of St. Andrew's, Plymouth, covering the period 1581-1642, includes an entry concerning the baptism of 'Josina daughter of Joseph Sweetnam' on 20 June 1604, but it is impossible to say whether this is Joseph Swetnam. I owe this information to Ms E.A. Stuart, Senior Assistant Archivist of the Devon Record Office.

40. T. Cooper, DNB lv.200, writes that Swetnam 'kept a fencing school at Bristol, as appears from an excessively rare work by him' [The schoole of defence]. But the two copies of The schoole of defence still extant, at the Bodleian Library, Oxford and in the Dyce Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, do not give this information. Swetnam does hint at having kept a fencing school (Cl<sup>v</sup>), but he does not say where. There are no records of fencing schools for that period at the Bristol Record Office.

41. Swetnam addresses Prince Charles in full. Charles was created Prince of Wales on 4 November 1616 (Gardiner, History of England, iii.35).

42. There is no evidence however that Charles accepted the services of Swetnam. There are no household account books extant of Charles's household; and it is unlikely that a copy of The schoole of defence would have found its way into the library of the bibliophile Charles. A copy of Académie de l'Espeé, Leyden 1628, a large folio volume with numerous engravings, among Charles's books, is the sort of book that would have appealed more to him than The schoole of defence with its few woodcuts.

43. The letter of the French ambassador, Monsieur de Boderie, dated 31st October 1606, reprinted in Thomas Birch, The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, London 1760, p.76, comments on the activities of the Prince, then aged 12: 'He studies two hours a day, and employs the rest of his time in tossing the pike, or leaping, or shooting with the bow, or throwing the bar, or vaulting, or some other exercise of that kind; and he is never idle. He shews himself

likewise good natured to his dependants, and supports their interests against any persons whatever; and pushes what he undertakes for them or others, with such zeal, as gives success to it'.

44. Ibid., p.268.

45. Henry's household was established on 20 July 1603.

Swetnam's name does not occur in the Privy Purse books of the Prince's household for 1608-1609 (PRO E 101/433/8); 1609-1610 (SP 14/57/f.126); 1610-1612 (PRO E 351/2794 and E 351/2793). The references to Prince Henry's household accounts can be found in Leila Parsons, 'Prince Henry (1594-1612) as a Patron of Literature', MLR 47, 1952. There is also a copy of the assignation of lands and revenues for the support of Henry's household dated 9 May 1610 preserved in Harleian MS 241. Swetnam's name does not occur in the list of household servants.

46. In 1601 Sir John Fitz was granted a pardon for killing Nicholas Slanning (CSPD 1598-1601, p.358). Swetnam writes that after the murder Fitz fled to France, but 'before one year was past his friends procured a pardon for him' (G2<sup>r</sup>).

After Fitz's suicide an account of his dissolute life was brought out for Francis Burton, The bloody booke, London 1605.

47. DNB 111.322-3. Sir John Knox Laughton, the author of the biography of Lord Burgh, refers to CSPD 1591-4, p.477. Laughton writes that Burgh's name was spelt variously. Swetnam spells his name as 'Burrowes' (G4<sup>r</sup>).

48. Laughton suggests that John Gilbert (apparently referred to as 'Mr' in CSPD) could be Sir John Gilbert, the half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh. Swetnam calls him Sir John Gilbert. Sir John Gilbert died in 1608 of the small-pox (Chamberlain, Letters, 1.259). Swetnam writes that after the murder of Sir John Burgh in 1594, Sir John Gilbert 'lived not many yeares after, but yet died in his bedde' (G4<sup>r</sup>).

49. Swetnam continues to relate the cause of Lord Bourgh's death 'as I heard it'. He could also have read about the murder, since a number of works appeared on the occasion of Lord Bourgh's death: The most horrible and tragicall murther of [...] John Lord Bourgh, by a servant of his who signs himself 'W.R.', London 1591; The arraignment, examination, confession and judgement of A. Cosbye, London 1591 and The manner of the death and execution of A. Cosbie, London 1591. Lord Bourgh's name is spelt variously in these works: 'Bourgh', 'Burke' and 'Boorke'. Swetnam spells his name 'Burke'.

50. Other murderers, unidentified, are 'one Hocket of Plymouth', who killed Captain Robinson, 'having an old quarrel to the said Robinson which began at sea' (G2<sup>r</sup>). CSPD 1587-1590, p.698, has the following reference: '9 November grant of pardon to Henry Robinson and 16 others, marines, for piracy'. Captain Treherne killed Captain E(a)gles, also in Plymouth. Treherne received a pardon and assembled a crew of twenty-eight men and presumably turned pirate, for which he and his men were hanged in France (G2<sup>v</sup>). Captain Hely killed Captain Foscue (G2<sup>v</sup>), also in Plymouth. CSPD 1601-1603, p.193, refers to a Captain Fortescue, 21 May 1602, but no further information is given. Bartlet killed a man in a duel, also in Plymouth, fled but returned to Plymouth after seven years, where he was himself challenged and killed in a duel (G2<sup>v</sup>-G3<sup>r</sup>).

51. George Eld entered into the Registers the copy of 'A collection of murders committed in England together with many of their straunge and miraculous revealings' on 15 June 1609 (Arber, 111.412). There is no reference to this book for the years 1609-1612 in P.G. Morrison's Index to Printers, Publishers and Booksellers in A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave "A Short Title Catalogue of Books [...] 1475-1640", Charlottesville, Va. 1950. All references hereafter will be to Morrison, STC Index to Printers.

52. The device of the dialogue is abandoned in The schoole of defence

almost as soon as it is adopted (N4<sup>v</sup>-O4<sup>r</sup>), only to be resumed on Y3<sup>r</sup>-Zz<sup>r</sup>. In Vincentio Saviolo his practise the dialogue is kept up throughout, and the two parts of the books are divided into four days of discourse. Each dialogue begins with observations by the pupil, Luke, after which the master, Vincentio, begins his instruction.

53. O2<sup>r</sup>. The pupil in Vincentio Saviolo his practise is obviously a gentleman, and indeed the entire book is directed at the gentry or above. On R3<sup>v</sup> for example is a 'Discourse most necessarie for all gentlemen that have in regarde their honors touching the giving and receiving the Lie', that famous gesture of insult in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period.

A brief survey of the several concerns over honour in Vincentio Saviolo his practise gives an indication of its intended reading public: XI<sup>v</sup>, Of the forme of Cartels, or Letters of Defiance; X3<sup>r</sup>, Of the manner of sending Cartels; Ff1<sup>v</sup>, Of the inequality of noble men, and chiefly of commaunding Lords; Ff3<sup>v</sup>, Of the inequality of private Noble men; Gg1<sup>v</sup>, With what persons a Knight ought to enter Combate, and with what he ought not; Gg3<sup>r</sup>, Touching the appointing of Champions; Hh1<sup>r</sup>, Touching the satisfaction that ought to be made twixt Knights; Hh2<sup>r</sup>, We are not to follow the opinion of the vulgare.

Castle, Schools and Masters of Defence, p.83, writes that a renowned Italian or Spanish fencing master was considered to be an arbitrator 'on matters of punctilio, honour and deportment', and Saviolo's treatise is a case in point. There is no such sense of an etiquette of defence in The schoole of defence.

54. E.g. B3<sup>v</sup>-B4<sup>r</sup>: 'yet I know not how every one will take this my presumption, in adventuring to set out a booke having no learning'; C2<sup>v</sup>: 'it should have been better if my learning had been answerable to my will'; F(f)2<sup>r</sup>: 'I am no Scholler, for I do protest I never went to Schoole six moneths in all my life [...] since the time that I was first taught, and that was when I was yong, and then I had some of my skill in London, and some in other places, where it was my chance to travell'; F2<sup>v</sup>: 'I was never Scholler, as I said before, and as it plainly appeareth by the grosse penning of it'. Apologies for lack of learning are certainly standard, so that not too much weight can be attached to Swetnam's repeated protestations, but Swetnam's protests in this case seem to be borne out by the internal evidence of The schoole of defence and The arraignment of women earlier.

55. Tilley W174.

56. That he was a contemporary English Christian, with contemporary prejudices, is apparent when he writes that it is as hard to persuade men fixed in their opinions as it is 'to compell a Papist from his Religion, which he hath been alwayes trained up to' (F3<sup>v</sup>).

57. G3<sup>r</sup>. Swetnam mentions the three murderers, Sir James Tirrel, Miles Forrest, John Dighton, and their several unholy deaths.

58. For Swetnam's sources for The arraignment of women see 2.2.1.

59. Both Barnaby Rich and George Whetstone had served as professional soldiers in the Netherlands. For their output see STC 20977-21004 and STC 25334-25349, respectively.

60. E.H. Miller, The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England, Cambridge, Mass. 1959, p.121.

61. Ibid., p.121. Thomas Dekker, Lanthorne and Candlelight, London 1609, in A.B. Grosart (ed.), The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, London 1884-86, iii.224-246.

62. Alice Walker, 'The Reading of an Elizabethan: some sources of the prose pamphlets of Thomas Lodge' in Review of English Studies 8 (1932), pp.264-81.

63. Thomas Lodge, Wits miserie, and the worlds madnesse, London 1596.

64. Alice Walker, 'The Reading of an Elizabethan', p.272. Thomas Nash,

Pierce pennillesse, London 1592. Walker writes that Nash himself had used 'practically the whole of a treatise by Pictorius' for Pierce Pennillesse (p.265). None of Georg Pictorius's works were translated into English before Pierce pennillesse was published.

65. Anthony Nixon, The black yeare, London 1606.

Lambert Ennis, 'Anthony Nixon: Jacobean Plagiarist and Hack' in Huntington Library Quarterly 3 (1939-40), pp.377-401. For The black yeare, see p.390, and Alice Walker, 'The Reading of an Elizabethan', p.276.

66. 'Now my seconde booke which is already in hand shall shew my judgement, and the chieftest rules according unto my practice at all these severall weapons' (Ee2<sup>v</sup>).

67. Constantia Munda, The worming of a mad dogge, London 1617, C3<sup>r</sup>.

68. E. Forde, Parismus, London 1596. Simon Shepherd, ed., The Women's Sharp Revenge: Five Women's Pamphlets from the Renaissance, London 1985, p.155, identifies The Knight of the Sunne as The mirrour of princely deedes and knighthood (STC 18859). For John Lyly's Euphues: The anatomy of wit see note 112 below. Amadis, de Gaule, London [1590]. Aesop's Fables were read in the second form of lower grammar schools (T.W. Baldwin, Shakespeare's small Latine and less Greeke, Urbana Ill. 1944, i.119). Valerius Maximus's Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem was likewise taught in the lower forms of grammar schools (Ibid., i.86).

69. Cervantes's history of Don Quixote first appeared in an English translation in 1612. The book was entered on 19 January 1611 (Arber, iii.451). The first part of Cervantes's romance appeared in Lisbon in 1605, the second part in Madrid in 1615. The first instance of a reference to Don Quixote in OED dates to 1648 (viii.1.75).

70. It is remarkable that Constantia Munda cites these romances and not a romance like Sir Bevis of Hampton, an originally English prose romance of some years' standing, which remained a popular favourite well into the eighteenth century. Such a reference would have marked Swetnam as a reader of unprofitable as well as unsophisticated literature. Nash had already ridiculed the plodding metre of this romance in 1590 in his Anatomie of absurditie (C1<sup>v</sup>): 'who is it, that reading Bevis of Hampton, can forbear laughing, if he marke what scambling shyft he makes to ende his verses alike. I will propose three or foure payre by the way for the Readers recreation: The Porter said, by my snout, / It was Sir Bevis that I let out'. (C1<sup>v</sup>)

71. See note 118 below.

72. See note 68 above.

73. J.L. Lievsay, Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, London 1961.

Stefano Guazzo, The civile conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, London 1581. The title-page adds that the translator worked from the French translation. Only the first three books were translated by George Pettie. The book was entered on 11 November 1597, and re-assigned on 27 February 1581 (Arber ii.361, 389). In 1586 another edition, this time with the addition of the fourth book, by a different translator, was published.

The court of good counsell, a condensed version of Book Three, appeared in London in 1607.

74. Lievsay, Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, p.33.

75. Baldessare Castiglione, The courtier of count Baldessar Castilio, London 1561.

76. Giovanni della Casa, Galateo of master John Dela Casa. Or rather, a treatise of man[n]ers, London 1576.

77. The civile conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, London 1925, C. Whibley (ed.). Intr. by Sir Edward Sullivan, p.xxix. All references are to this edition.



78. Ibid., Book Two, p.56. Cf. also pp.136-37 for Guazzo's non-elitist approach: 'And albeit these same ornaments and flowers of speache growe up chiefly in the learned, yet [...] you shall see artificers, and others of low estate, to apply fitly to their purpose in due time and place, Sentences, pleasant jests, Fables, Allegories, Similitiudes, Proverbs, Comptes, and other delightfull speache, varying from the common fourme of talke, whiche hath no small force to content the hearers'.

79. Ibid., p.175. Guazzo does not erase the barriers between gentry and yeomanry however. In a discussion on 'true gentry', Guazzo tells Annibal: 'I think I have also hearde that in some countries, he which with his owne handes tylleth his grounde or doeth any other worke belonging to husbandry, looseth not thereby one jot of his gentry. But for my parte I will alwaies pray, good Lord deliver mee from such kind of gentry' (p.190).

80. Lievsay, Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, p.53.

81. In the case of John Lyly for example Lievsay, p.179, states that 'the greatest difficulty in the way of confidently demonstrating Lyly's use of Guazzo is their common dependence upon Plutarch, Pliny, Ovid, Diogenes Laertius and other classical writers'.

82. Ibid., pp.144-79.

83. Ibid., p.212.

84. Lievsay begins by quoting the opening sentence of the first chapter of The arraignment of women and wonders: 'was the arrangement of idea suggested to him by the following?

Guaz [...] But howe can a man love them that are called women,  
of the woe and hurt they bring to men?

Annib And why not of the woe and hurt they derive of men,  
which is confirmed by God him selfe, who saith, he made them for  
a helpe and comforte to man?

Guaz What, to helpe to consume a man as the Poet saide?'

Swetnam uses the verb 'consume' intransitively and in another sense than Guazzo. But the correspondence is striking.

The passage which Lievsay quotes next, on B3<sup>V</sup> (lines 11-20) does not warrant his tentative conclusion 'That both of these sayings should be attributed to the same unnamed "philosopher" seems to suggest derivation from a single source: Guazzo', since that single source could also have been a wit book, which specialized in such aphoristic wisdom (see note to B3<sup>R</sup>, lines 11-20).

The same can be said for 'say with Diogenes, it is too soone for a young man to marry and too late for an old man' (F2<sup>V</sup>) (see note to F2<sup>V</sup>, lines 13-14).

What Lievsay already calls 'shopworn Jewels', proverbs or proverbial sayings like 'every sweete hath his sower' (E1<sup>V</sup>) or 'of two evils choose the least' (F2<sup>V</sup>), have earlier sources in Tilley than 1586 (E207 and cf S1035).

All in all, his contention that because of the large single borrowing for the 'commendation of women', Guazzo's influence is pervasive, does not seem to be warranted. It seems that Swetnam was content to use passages en bloc. Lievsay's discussion of single phrases occurs on pp.213-15 of Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance.

85. Ibid., p.215. Lievsay is a champion for the neglected cause of The civile conversation, or as he himself puts it 'If a moral can be made to bear the weight of a corollary, I am tempted to add one: those writers who glibly cry "Castiglione!" every time they encounter a reference to courtiers or polite conduct in Elizabethan literature would be well advised to familiarize themselves with Guazzo'.

86. Ibid., p.215.

87. Ibid., p.217: 'The most obviously relevant detachable statements in

Guazzo are these:

1. Therby we may gather, that it is better to marry a young girle, then a mayde of ripe yeeres, who is hardly brought to leave her old trickes, if she have taken any.

2. But returning to the first point, I reply, that a very young wife is easy to be framed to the pleasure of her husbande [...] And I thinke it be for nothing else that it is counted a double payne to marry a widdowe, but for that shee must firste be made to forget the qualities of her first husband, and then made to daunce after the pipe of the second.

3. I will say unto you also, that as it is better for a man to chuse a yong wife, then one in yeeres, so he ought to marry while he himselfe is yong, and not to stay til his hayre waxe hoare'.

88. See note to G3<sup>V</sup>, lines 8-18 in the commentary to the text.

89. Lievsay, Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, pp.217-21.

90. Just above the paragraph which Swetnam reproduces on H2<sup>V</sup>, lines 25-31, there is a discussion of the care which ought to be taken in choosing a wife in view of offspring: 'I wold have Gentlemen especially take heede, that they matche only with those that come of Gentle blood' (Book Three, p.18). This has also been ignored by Swetnam.

91. Lievsay, Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, p.221, writes that Swetnam used a copy of The civile conversation and not The court of good counsell, the condensed version of Book Three which was published in 1607.

92. Ibid., p.78.

93. The court of good counsell, B1<sup>r</sup>.

94. Thomas Tusser, An hundreth pointes of husbandry, London 1570, A3<sup>v</sup>. The first edition was published in 1557.

95. Cf. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p.125.

96. Pedro Mexia, The foreste or a collection of histories, London 1571, translated by Thomas Fortescue from the French of C. Grucet. Thomas Fortescue writes in his dedicatory epistle: 'I knewe it written in three sundrie tounes, in the Spanishe firste, by Petrus Me[s]z[j]ia, a gentleman of Sivile and thence dooen into the Italian, and laste into the Frenche, by Claudius Gruette, late citizen of Paris' (A3<sup>r</sup>).

Thomas Fortescue dedicated The foreste to 'John Fortescue, Esquire, Master of the Queens Wardrobe'. Sir John Fortescue became Keeper of the great wardrobe on Elizabeth's accession in 1558.

97. Cf. Richard Foster Jones, The Triumph of the English Language, Palo Alto, Calif. 1953, pp.34-41.

98. The foreste was part of a list of books presented by the printer John Daye to the Stationers' Company for the use of the poor of the Company. Daye and the other patentees presented their gift on 8 January 1584. Daye contributed the largest number of books, mostly religious works (Arber, ii.786-9).

99. Thomas Milles, The treasurie of auncient and moderne times, London 1613. This book contains both Mexia's Silva as well as Francesco Sansovino's Propositioni.

100. The foreste, 1571 ed., P4<sup>r</sup>; The treasurie of auncient and moderne times, p.443.

101. See note to H1<sup>r</sup>, lines 4-13 in the commentary to the text. This error was not corrected until the 1634 edition of The arraignment of women when 'Ayra' was changed to 'Darius' along with a few other errors due to ignorance of the classical sources.

102. C. Plinius Caecili Secundi, Epistolarum Libri Novem, ed. M. Schuster, Leipzig 1958, VI.24.

103. Quintus Curtius Rufus, Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis, ed. P.H. Damsté, Groningen 1897, IV.10.19.

104. Valerius Maximus: Valerii Maximii factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem, ed. C. Kempf, Leipzig 1888, Book IV. VI.1.

105. George Whetstone, An heptameron of civill discourses, London 1582. The imprint reads: 'Printed by Richard Jones, at the signe of the Rose and Crowne, neare Holburne Bridge. 3 Feb 1582'. The book was entered on 11 January 1582 (Arber, 11.404). 4<sup>o</sup>, A-X4.

An heptameron of civill discourses was reprinted as Aurelia. The paragon of pleasure and princely delights, London 1593. All quotations are taken from Aurelia, which is a straightforward reprint of An heptameron of civill discourses.

106. Lievsay, Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, p.82.

107. Edmund Tilney, A brief and pleasant discourse of duties in marriage, called the flower of friendship, London 1568.

108. Thomas C. Izard, George Whetstone, Mid-Elizabethan Gentleman of Letters, New York 1942, p.81, thinks that An Heptameron of Civill Discourses 'is in some degree a book of etiquette'. 'Civill' carried a strong sense of social refinement, cf. S. Robson, A new yeeres gift. The courte of civill courtesie, London 1577, which is advertised on the tp. as 'Fitly furnished with a pleasant porte of stately phrases and pithie precepts: assembled in the behalfe of all younge gentlemen, and others, that are desirous to frame their behaviour according to their estates, at all times, and in all companies'.

109. See notes to A2<sup>r</sup>, lines 22-26; A2<sup>v</sup>, lines 24-25; B2<sup>r</sup>, lines 8-12; B4<sup>r</sup>, lines 14-20; B4<sup>v</sup>, lines 2-5; C1<sup>v</sup>, lines 1-3; C3<sup>r</sup>, lines 5-8; C4<sup>r</sup>, lines 7-11; D1<sup>v</sup>, lines 14-17; E3<sup>v</sup>, lines 9-11; E4<sup>v</sup>, lines 21ff.; F4<sup>v</sup>, lines 5-7; G2<sup>v</sup>, lines 4-6; G3<sup>r</sup>, lines 8-12; G4<sup>r</sup>, lines 13-15; I2<sup>v</sup>, lines 7-8, 9-15 and 21-24; I3<sup>r</sup>, lines 6-31; I3<sup>v</sup>, lines 5-13 in the commentary to the text.

110. As Aurelia (1593) is a straightforward reprint of the text of An heptameron of civill discourses, it is not possible to establish whether Swetnam used a copy of the 1582 or 1593 edition. Although Whetstone may also have borrowed for An heptameron of civill discourses, the incidence of passages in The araignment of women which can be found scattered in An heptameron of civill discourses makes it likely that Swetnam used this book as his source.

111. There are a number of other sources in which verbal parallels with The araignment of women may be found: Anthony Munday's Zelauto: The fountaine of fame, London 1580, a novel published in the wake of the popularity of John Lyly's Euphues: The anatomy of wit. William Warner, Pan his syrinx, London [1584]. Nicholas Breton, Pasquills mistresse: Or, the worthie and unworthie woman, London 1600. The last poem in particular features a number of lines which recur in The araignment of women.

See notes in the commentary to the text passim.

112. John Lyly, Euphues: The anatomy of wit, London [1578]. The novel went through eighteen reprints before 1640.

113. E.g. Anthony Munday's Zelauto (see note 111 above), Robert Greene's Mamillia. A mirrour or looking-glasse for the ladies of Englande, London 1583, as well as his Euphues his censure to Philautus, London 1587. See Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, pp.383-4.

114. John Lyly, Euphues and his England, London 1580. There were thirteen reprints of this novel before 1610.

115. John Lyly. Works, ed. R.W. Bond, Oxford 1902, i.184. All quotations are from Bond's edition.

116. *Ibid.*, i.120-34.

117. *Ibid.*, i.135-43.

118. John Lyly, ed. Edward Arber, London 1868, pp.13-14, 15-16 and 13.

119. See notes to the commentary on the text passim.

120. John Lyly. Works, ed. R.W. Bond, 1.247-257.
121. See notes to the commentary on the text *passim*.
122. Cf. Desiderius Erasmus, Apophthegmes, that is to saie, prompte, quicke, wittie, saynges, London 1542.
- William Baldwin, A treatise of morall phylosophie, contaynyng the saynges of the wyse, London 1547. Twenty-three surviving reprints, with additions, are listed in STC before 1640.
123. Nicholas Ling, Politeuphuia, wits commonwealth, London 1597; Francis Meres, Palladis tamia, London 1598; Robert Allot, Wits theater of the little world, London 1599; William Wrednot, Palladis palatium: wisdoms palace. Or the fourth part of wits commonwealth, London 1604.
124. Nicholas Ling, Politeuphuia, A3<sup>v</sup>.
125. H.C., The Forrest of fancy. Wherein is contained very pretty apothegmes, and pleasaunt histories, both in meeter and prose, London 1579.
126. Ovid, Ovidius Naso his remedie of love, London 1600. Another translation, by Sir Thomas Overbury, appeared in 1620.
127. D. Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, London 1932, does not list any sixteenth-century prose writers who made use of *De remedio amoris*.
128. Antonio de Guevara, The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius, London 1535. STC lists thirteen surviving editions of this work before 1587. See particularly notes to B1<sup>v</sup>, lines 10-26 and F4<sup>v</sup>, lines 30-1 in the commentary to the text.
129. In L. Wright's A display of dutie, dect [sic] with sage sayings, pythie sentences, and proper similies, London 1589, are included a number of jests on women in 'A friendly advertisement touching marriage' (D2<sup>v</sup>). Although this section begins on a sober note, the author soon introduces anecdotes and jests, one of which: 'A merry fellow hearing a Preacher say in his sermon: that whosoever would be saved, must take up, and beare his crosse: ran straight to his wife, & cast her upon his back' (D3<sup>r</sup>), is also featured in The arraignment of women (I4<sup>rv</sup>). Wright apparently did not find any incongruity in mixing the serious with the jocular.
130. See notes to the commentary on the text throughout.
131. Some of the proverbial passages are taken from Euphuus: The anatomy of wit, e.g. E3<sup>v</sup>, lines 27-31, F2<sup>r</sup>, lines 24-31.
132. In view of Swetnam's unoriginality it is perhaps a small miracle to note that three of his proverbial phrases in The schoole of defence are noted as the earliest recorded instances in The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, ed. F.P. Wilson, Oxford 1970, p.913, 274, 764. However, the first proverb, 'One woodcock does not make a winter', sums up the conclusion that may be drawn from these instances.
133. William Baldwin, A treatise of morall phylosophie, London 1547, on proverbs and adages: 'they both delyte and perswade exceedynglye, mixed with such pithynes in wordes and sentences, a cause to fixe the[m] the better in memory: and like a playster both corrosyve and incarnative, tauntynge vyces, and shewing the remedyes: beyng ther withall so briefe, that without trouble they maye bee contayned' (M7<sup>r</sup>).
134. The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, ed. J.M. Osborn, Oxford 1961.
135. *Ibid.*, p.72, 175.
136. Sir William Cornwallis, Essayes, London 1600, 1601, Ee7<sup>r</sup>.
137. Thomas Birch, The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p.128.
138. William Baldwin, A treatyse of morall phylosophie, Q3<sup>r</sup>: 'Lyke as Humlocke is poyson to man, so is wyne poyson to Humlocke. [...] Nowe as for the use of thys in perswasyon, it may be thus applyed. Lyke as Humlocke is poyson to man, and wyne poyson to Humlocke: so is flattery poyson to frendship, and lycence to bee flattered, poyson unto flattery'.

139. Francis Meres, Palladis tamia, A2<sup>r</sup>.

140. Rachel Speght for example begins her response to The arraignment of women with a simile upon which she elaborates: 'It was the simile of that wise and learned Lactantius, that if fire, though but with a small sparke kindled, bee not at the first quenched, it may worke great mischiefe and dammage: So likewise may the scandals and defamations of the malevolent in time prove pernicious, if they bee not nipt in the head at their first appearance' (A mouzell for Melastomus, A3<sup>r</sup>). This is the basis of her apology for appearing in print to answer Joseph Swetnam.

141. See note in the commentary to the text, F4<sup>v</sup>, lines 22-25, where four of the lines of the poem occur in an -unidentified- 'proverb-mongering' poem.

Nicholas Breton's poem Pasquils mistresse: or the worthie and unworthie woman (see note to G3<sup>rv</sup>) includes a number of the lines here reproduced.

142. Cf. Arthur Dent, A sermon of repentaunce, London 1583 (first edition 1581): 'Let not men thinke therefore, that although they welter in the carelesness of the fleshe, and sleepe in securitie all the daies of their life, yet their Repentaunce is good enough, yea and though they spend whole dayes, nightes, monethes, and yeaeres in Vanitie, Playes, and pastimes, in Idlenesse, fond delight, pleasure, and voluptuousnesse, in negligence of all duties, [...] yet for all this they repe[n]t for their sinnes, and hope to be saved as well as anie other' (B5<sup>r</sup>).

143. Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, ed. A.B. Grosart, London 1880, p.viii. J.S. Farmer edited the play for the Tudor Facsimile Text Society in 1914, and Coryll Crandall provided a modern edition in 1969: Swetnam the Woman-Hater. The Controversy and the Play. All references to the play are taken from Crandall's edition.

144. Juliet Dusinberre, Shakespeare and the Nature of Women, London 1975, p.181; Angeline Goreau, The Whole Duty of a Woman. Female Writers in Seventeenth-Century England, New York 1985, p.67; The Paradise of Women. Writings by Englishwomen of the Renaissance, ed. Betty Travitsky, Westport, Conn., 1981, p.104.

145. Carroll Camden, The Elizabethan Woman, London 1952, p.255.

146. F.B. Williams, Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses, London 1962, lists only The arraignment of women as dedicated to the 'common sort of women'. Works comparable to The arraignment of women in satirical intention up to 1615 which are dedicated to 'women' are Nicholas Breton, Pasquils mistresse, London 1600 and William Goddard, A satyricall dialogue, [Dort? 1616].

Breton's Pasquils mistresse is first dedicated to Humphrey King (A2<sup>r</sup>), The Reader (A3<sup>r</sup>), and finally 'in general, to women' (A3<sup>v</sup>). Goddard's A satyricall dialogue is dedicated first to 'the all-illustrious, and most puissant creatures of the Earth, woemen' (A2<sup>r</sup>), next to 'the senceles Reader' (A2<sup>v</sup>).

147. Although dedicatory epistles are regularly addressed to the 'best', either individually or collectively, in a bid for respectability or flattery, in particular Speght's and Munda's dedications seem to dissociate themselves from the popular market for which The arraignment of women caters.

148. Rachel Speght: 'As for the Vulgar sort, which have no more learning then you have shewed in your Booke, it is likely they will applaud you for your paines' (B2<sup>v</sup>). Constantia Munda attacks Swetnam for filling 'the itching eares of silly swaines, and rude / Truth-not-discerning rusticke multitude / with sottish lies, [...] / [...] but to please / The giddy-headed vulgar' (A4<sup>rv</sup>).

149. James Wright, Historia histrionica, London 1699 (first edition 1656), B3<sup>r</sup>.

150. Quoted in C.R. Baskervill, The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song

Drama, Chicago 1922, p.115. The careless shepherdess is attributed to Thomas Gough [Goffe]. The play was not entered in the Stationers' Registers until 22 October 1655 (G.E. Briscoe Eyre & C.R. Rivington, A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708 A.D., Gloucester, Mass., 1967, ii.15. Hereafter referred to as Eyre & Rivington). It is described in the entry as written by Thomas Gough, Master of Arts. See also W.W. Greg, A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration, London 1970, 761. Hereafter referred to as Greg.

151. The 'Mouzell' must refer to Speght's A mouzell for Melastomus. Earlier Swetnam had been indicted under the names 'Joseph Swetnam, alias Misogynos, Alias Molastomus, alias the Woman Hater' (V.ii.255-6). In 'Molastomus' there is again a reference to Speght, and Ester Sowernam and Constantia Munda repeatedly refer to Swetnam as the 'Woman-Hater'. Swash, Swetnam's servant, comments on the publication of The arraignment of women and its effects and adds that 'two or three good wenches, in mere spight, / Laid their heads together, and railed him out of th'Land' (V.ii.321-22).

Crandall, ed., Swetnam the Woman-Hater. The Controversy and the Play, p.27, puts the dates of the play's performance after the publication of the three responses, so after April 1617, since the play incorporates such obvious references to them, and before Queen Anne's death on 22 March 1619. According to the imprint, the play was performed at the Red Bull by the Queen's Servants.

152. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p. 317, argues that the comedy turns serious when as a result of Swetnam's sallies against women in the debate between him and Atalanta, (III.iii), women are deemed the first offenders in love, and by implication Leonida, the King's daughter, must die.

153. See note 54 to chapter 4.

154. The respondents are mentioned, too (see note 151 above), but the main focus is on Swetnam and his The arraignment of women. When Swetnam makes his first appearance on stage, he carries a copy of The arraignment of women in his hand (I.ii.1).

The playwright(s) also cast Swetnam in the role of fencer. The schoole of defence had appeared in 1617, the year of the controversy, which may thus have provided the main source for the characterization of Swetnam. But Swash's references to Bristol, with which Swetnam was connected, constitute information not contained in The schoole of defence.

155. R.E. Morsberger, 'Sword-play and the Elizabethan and Jacobean Stage', in Salzburg Studies in English Literature. Jacobean Drama Studies, ed. J. Hogg, Salzburg 1974 (37), p.61.

156. Thomas Nabbes, Tottenham Court, London 1638. Swetnam the Woman-Hater, ed. Crandall, p.27, refers to G.E. Bentley's The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, Oxford 1941-56, v.1417-18.

157. The launching of the Mary, IV,iv., quoted in Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p.503, from F.S. Boas, Shakespeare and the Universities, Oxford 1923, p.170.

158. Lady Alimony, London 1659, quoted in Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p.487.

159. Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (ed. Bliss), Hildesheim 1969, ii.463. Wood also owned copies of editions of The arraignment of women, see bibliographical descriptions G, J & K.

160. Samuel Rowlands, The bride, London 1617, C4<sup>r</sup>. The parallels with The arraignment of women can be found on B3<sup>r</sup>, lines 16-19 and B2<sup>r</sup>, lines 5-7.

161. W.P., The gossips greeting, London 1620, A4<sup>v</sup>, B1<sup>rv</sup>. The parallels with The arraignment of women can be found on B1<sup>r</sup>, lines 5-12, C4<sup>r</sup>, lines 22-27.

162. Harleian MS 6534 is described in A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Hildesheim 1973, iii.373-4. A reference to Harleian Ms. 6564, p.376, identifies the compiler as 'mr. Elliston of St. Albans'. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses [...] from the earliest times to 1900, I.ii.99, refers to a John Elliston of Essex who was a pensioner from Corpus Christi, Easter 1616, and obtained his BA in 1619.

163. Elliston used a copy of the edition of 1634 or later. The page references he gives correspond with those of the edition of 1634 and subsequent editions. The notes on The araignment of women take up one page of this quarto volume.

164. The law of drinking is unidentified. Cupids schoole: wherein, yongmen and maids may learne divers sorts of complements, London 1632. The work was entered to Francis Grove on 29 February 1632 (Arber, iv.273). A second part was entered to him on 6 August 1633 (Arber, iv.301).

165. See chapter 4.3.

1. Constantia Munda, The worming of a mad dogge, E3<sup>v</sup>.

2. Daniel Tuvil, Asylum veneris, or a sanctuary for ladies, London 1616, entered to Laurence L'isle on 7 May 1616 (Arber, iii.588). J.L. Lievsay, "'D.T. Gent.," Spenser, and the defence of Women', in JEGP xlvii (1948), pp.382-6, quotes Richard Chiswell's Auction Catalogue of 15 May 1682 as an 'older recognition of its place in the controversy ... Bibliotheca Smithiana, p.395, lot 43' (p.384). Christopher Newstead, An apology for women, London 1620, finally entered to Richard Whittakers on 27 December 1619 (Arber, iii.662), after earlier entries to Richard Redmer and John Barnes on 12 April, 1619 (Arber, iii.645). John Barnes had acquired this and other copies from the estate of his father Joseph Barnes, the printer to Oxford University. Joseph Barnes printed from 1585 to 1618. If this was Barnes's copy, he probably acquired the manuscript of An apology for women in Oxford. There is no evidence of a copy printed in Oxford before 1620 in F. Madan, Oxford Books, Oxford 1895-1931.

3. Dedication to Alice Colville, A3<sup>r</sup>. Alice Spencer, daughter of Sir William Spencer of Yarnton, married Sir Thomas Colville, who died intestate on 7 October 1611 (Sir Charles Colville et al., History of the Colville Family, London 1896, p.49).

Although Tuvil hints at an earlier completion of the manuscript: 'the slight approbation I make of it myselfe, may bee witnessed by my long suppressing it. And but to prevent others, who had gotten from mee some imperfect copies, I would never have published it now' (A5<sup>v</sup>), such an apology for appearing in print is too traditional to be taken at face value, as J.L. Lievsay already noted (p.383) in his article on Asylum veneris (see note 2 above).

4. 'But Calumnies suggesteth here, that she was built indeede, but the foundation was a crooked rib' (B4<sup>rv</sup>), cf. The arraignment of women, B1<sup>r</sup>, lines 12-16. 'Malice [...] would persuade the world [...] that like the Apothecaries painted pots, they may be faire without, yet full of poyson within' (B5<sup>v</sup>-B6<sup>r</sup>), cf. The arraignment of women, C3<sup>r</sup>, lines 1-2. 'Envie maketh it a proverbe, that if she be faire, she must be foolish' (B8<sup>v</sup>), cf. The arraignment of women, F2<sup>v</sup>, lines 28-29. Only the first reference directly reflects a statement in The arraignment of women. Although Tuvil also discusses the example of Pliny's courageous fisherman's wife in chapter 10, 'Of their valour' (J5<sup>v</sup>-J6<sup>r</sup>), cf. The arraignment of women, G4<sup>v</sup>, lines 18-31, and the Aesopical fable of the sun and the wind (K8<sup>v</sup>), and draws a different conclusion than Swetnam, cf. The arraignment of women, B2<sup>r</sup>, lines 13-26, the first historical anecdote was familiar, while he includes the fable in his Epilogue, to prove that men should be mild towards their wives. He does not mention the contrary conclusion Swetnam gave to the fable, as Ester Sovernam and Constantia Munda did, see B2<sup>r</sup>, lines 13-26 in the commentary to the text.

5. Rachel Speght, A mouzell for Melastomus, London 1617, B4<sup>v</sup>: 'Shee having not as yet seene twenty yeares, / Though in her carriage older she appeares'. The author of this poem signs himself 'Favour B.'. A mouzell for Melastomus was entered to Thomas Archer on 14 November 1616 (Arber, iii.597).

Collation: 4<sup>o</sup>, A2-G3 (§3), 26 leaves, pp.[14] 1-19 [9] 29-38. A2<sup>r</sup> title, A2<sup>v</sup> blank. A3-A4<sup>v</sup> Dedicatory Epistle. B1<sup>r</sup> Acrostic poem, spelling the name 'Joseph Swetnam', signed, 'Ra. Sp.', errata. B1<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>v</sup> Epistle to Joseph Swetnam, signed 'Rachel Speght'. B4<sup>rv</sup> Commendatory poems in praise of the author, signed 'Philaethes', 'Philomathes', and 'Favour B.'. C1<sup>r</sup>-E2<sup>r</sup> Text A Mouzell for Melastomus. E2<sup>v</sup>-E3<sup>r</sup> Epilogue. E3<sup>v</sup> blank. E4<sup>r</sup> title, E4<sup>v</sup> blank. F1<sup>rv</sup> Epistle to the Reader. F2<sup>rv</sup> the Preface. F3<sup>r</sup>-G3<sup>r</sup> Text Certaine Queres to the Bayter of Women. G3<sup>v</sup> acrostic poem, spelling the word 'Finis',



unsigned, erratum.

6. Sheperd, ed., The Women's Sharp Revenge, p.58, earlier pointed to Rachel Speght as possibly the daughter of James Speght. The will of James Speght, in which Rachel is mentioned, makes it certain that she was his daughter (see note 11 below).

7. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses [...] from the earliest times to 1900, I.iv.29; J. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses [...] 1500-1714, Nendeln / Liechtenstein 1968, iv.397; J. Peile, Biographical Register of Christ College, Cambridge 1910-12, i.172.

In his will, James Speght bequeathes twenty shillings to the poor of Horbury, where he was born. He also mentions a brother, described as William Speght, gentleman, of Ely in Cambridgeshire, who was still alive in 1613 (fol.396<sup>v</sup>). See note 10 for Speght's will.

8. Two documents relating to the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, are described in Paul S. Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships. The Politics of Dissent 1560-1662, Palo Alto Calif. 1970, pp.195-6, in connection with William Proctor the son-in-law of James Speght. They are GLMS 2596/1 and GMLS 2596/2, and are the Churchwarden Accounts for 1606-1666. James Speght's signature appears in these volumes throughout the period of his tenure. G. Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, London 1898, p.268, notes that Speght also held the living of St. Clement Eastcheap from 1611 to 1637.

9. The Registers of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street 1558-1666 and St. Michael Bassishaw London 1558-1625, ed. A.W. Hughes Clarke, London 1942, p.50: '1637. Apr. 7. James Speght, Doctor in Divinity & Rector of this Parish. Within the Rail upon the North side of the Communion Table'.

10. PRO PROB 11/173, fols. 396<sup>r</sup>-397<sup>v</sup>. The will was proven on 1 April 1637. Elizabeth Speght, the widow of James Speght, is named as executrix and administrator of the estate. The will was sealed on 5 August 1636 in the presence of Henry Valentine, Edward Marbury, and Anthony and Richard Coop.

11. 'Item I give to Rachell Proctor my daughter a booke entituled *Maison Rustique* or the countrie ffarme. And Master Richard Greenhams works' (fol.396<sup>v</sup>).

C. Estienne and J. Liebault, Maison rustique, or the countrie ffarme, London 1600 (first edition). The first volume of Richard Greenham's *Works* was published in London in 1598. The second volume came out in 1600. Several editions of both volumes appeared in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

12. Samuel Speght also inherited a 'Silver cupp, with a twenty shilling peece of gould of Queene Elizabeths reigne, and my best cloake' (fol.396<sup>r</sup>), 'my dining table in the Parlor and six joyned stools' (fol.396<sup>v</sup>). He was also to have the lease of an orchard plot north of James Speght's house in Deptford, Kent, after the death of his second wife Elizabeth (fol.197<sup>r</sup>), as well as the inheritance of his house and lands (fol.397<sup>r</sup>).

Sarah Speght inherited a gold ring, a ten shilling piece of 'ould gould' (fol. 396<sup>r</sup>). Her husband Richard Wiggs was to receive ten shillings. Their marriage is recorded in the parish registers of St. Clement, Eastcheap, August 24, 1613 (The Registers of St. Clement, Eastcheap and St. Martin Ongar, ed. A.W. Hughes Clarke, London 1937, i.85).

Rebecca Speght was probably married to John Love, and had five children: Mary Love (referred to as 'my grand-childe'), who was to have six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence (fol.196<sup>v</sup>), Richard, Samuel and Rebecca (referred to as 'the three younger of John Loves children'), who were to have six pounds to be divided equally amongst them, and lastly to Anne 'my daughter Rebeccas oldest daughter' the sum of forty shillings (fol.396<sup>v</sup>). Mary Love was also to inherit 'a ffetherbed a paire of sheets a paire of

blankets a Coverlet and a Trundle bedstead' (fol.396<sup>v</sup>).

13. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, iv.397. Elizabeth Smith, aged 41 in 1621, of Newington Butts, was the widow of Henry Smith, merchant, of Southampton.

The Registers of St. Clement, Eastcheap and St. Martin Ongar, ed. A.W. Hughes Clarke, 1.87: '13 February 1621. M<sup>r</sup> James Speght, p[ar]son, of this p[ar]ish & Elizabeth Smyth, widdow, of Newington Butts. L[icence] out of the Bishop of Londons Court'.

14. E.g. Sara, James Speght's daughter, will receive a gold ring and money, but it is given 'unto her conditionally that neither shee nor her husband nor any other person or persons for him or her in theire or either of their names shall molest sue or trouble Elizabeth my wife for any preferred bequest or other donation [given] unto or bestowed upon my said daughter Sarah by any of my kindred or frendes whatsoever' (fol.396<sup>v</sup>).

James Speght provides for legal redress for his wife Elizabeth 'if it shall soe fall out that my sonne Samuell or any other of my children, naturall or legall shall molest or trouble Elizabeth my wife by any suite in lawe for or in regard of anie legacie or legacies by my brother William Speight or by any other [person] or persons to them or any of them given or bequeathed' (fol.397<sup>r</sup>).

Finally, should Samuel Speght, his heirs executors, administrators or assigns, not permit Elizabeth Speght 'quietlie or peacablie to enjoy whatsoever I have bequeathed given graunted or shall hereafter', the estate is to be divided amongst his grand-children Rebecca and Samuel Love and William Proctor (fol.397<sup>rv</sup>).

15. J. Foster, Marriage Licenses issued by the Bishop of London, 1611-1828, London 1887, p.101: 'August 2, 1621. William Proctor ["Clerk" in Vic-Gen.'s Book], Bachelor, 29, & Rachel Speght, Spinster, 24, dau. of Mr. James Speight, Clerk, Parson of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, who consents; at St. Mary Woolchurch. London'. See also GLMS 10,091/8, marriage allegations, August 2, 1621, where Proctor is described as 'gent.'.

16. PRO PROB 11/ 173, fol.396<sup>v</sup>: 'Item I give to Master William Proctor her husband my latin bible translated by Tremelius and Junius'.

Testamenti veteris Biblia sacra siue libri canonici, Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, ab I. Tremelio & F. Junio, London 1580. The last edition before 1640 dates to 1597.

17. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, ii.990, 1215.

Proctor, alias Matthews, of Somerset, matriculated on 20 October 1609, aged 16. His age corresponds with that of the William Proctor who married Rachel Speght in 1621 at the age of 29. Proctor obtained his M.A. in 1616.

A William Proctor, M.A., preached a sermon at Paul's Cross on 26 September 1624, which was entered on 25 November of that year (Arber, iv.129) and published in 1625. The Epistle to the Reader is signed 'From my house at Upminster in Essex, this 20. of October 1624'. Since none of the William Proctors in the registers of Oxford and Cambridge alumni are listed as having passed their M.A. degree, this is probably Speght's husband. Millar Maclure, The Paul's Cross Sermons 1534-1642, Toronto 1958, p.246, refers to the author of The watchman warning as 'perhaps the Rector of Over Boddington, Northants', but it is unlikely that this William Proctor, who was rector of Boddington from 1596 until his death in 1628, would have lived in Upminster in 1624. (George Baker, The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton, London 1822-30, i.482). The watchmans warning was dedicated to Ralph Freeman, alderman of London (A3<sup>r</sup>). William Proctor was clearly angling for employment in the service of Freeman.

18. Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships, pp.195-6.

19. A.G. Matthews, Walker revised. Being a revision of John Walker's

Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion, 1642, Oxford, 1948, p.341. Walker revised refers to Linc. Suff. MS. 84,169, which has been published as The Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers 1644-1646, ed. C. Holmes, Ipswich 1970. The articles against William Proctor can be found on pp.86-91. The personal grievances against Proctor are as many as the complaints based on his conformity. The most common complaints against ministers in Suffolk are: upholding Bishop Wren's innovations, supporting the Crown, advertising the Book of Sports, bowing at the name of Jesus and finally drunkenness. Proctor is conventionally charged with upholding Bishop Wren's injunctions (art.i), advertising the Book of Sports (art.x), and drunkenness (arts.xviii-xix). But the complaints against him also concern spiteful or malicious manoeuvres against - presumably - non-conforming parishioners. He caused one parishioner, John Coe, to be excommunicated for not attending service every Sunday, in spite of the knowledge that Coe was forced to work away from the parish of Stradishall and so could not attend mass in his home parish (art.xxxi). Earlier he had attempted to persuade Coe to bear false witness (art.xxx). He refused to baptise the twins that were born to Thomas French, another parishioner. One child died unbaptized, the other died of exposure after having been taken to Church on a Sunday, on which day Proctor had insisted it should be carried for baptism (art.xxiii).

20. Matthews, Walker Revised, p.341, refers to BM Additional Manuscripts 15669/fol.216<sup>v</sup>, which records the findings of the committee in 1645 regarding Rachel Proctor (who is incorrectly referred to as 'Mary'; the parish of Stradishall is incorrectly spelt 'Stradisham'). She is to have the full share of the tithes, rent and land of the parish of Stradishall unless 'good Cause bee showne by jury to whom the sayd rectory is sequestered on the 30th Day of Dec[ember] next'. The living of Stradishall was valued at 100 pounds a year at the time of Proctor's sequestration (The Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers 1644-1646, ed. Holmes, p.91). Apparently Pinder was remiss because he was summoned by the committee on 29 December 1645 to explain his reasons for non-payment (fol.236<sup>v</sup>). On 21 January 1646 the case was settled in favour of Rachel Proctor, and confirmed on 6 November 1646 (Bodleian Ms 324/20, fol.191; referred to in Matthews, Walker Revised, p.341).

21. The Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers 1644-1646, ed. Holmes, arts. xv and xx, p.88.

22. Rachel Speght, A mouzell for Melastomus, El<sup>r</sup>.

23. Rachel Speght, Mortalities memorandum, London 1621, Dedicatory Epistle, A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>. Mortalities memorandum was entered to Jacob Bloome on 18 January 1621 (Arber, iv.48). The copy was part of a transferral of copies from Jacob Bloome to George Hodges on 4 June 1621 (Arber, iv.54), but apparently never reprinted.

Germaine Greer, Jeslyn Medoff, Melinda Samsone, Susan Hastings, eds., Kissing the Rod, London 1988, included the first part of Rachel Speght's poem Mortalities memorandum, 'The Dreame', in their anthology of British female poets.

24. Thomas Moundeford died in 1630 and was buried in the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street. His wife, Mary, continued to live in their house in Milk Street until 1654, the year of her death (DNB xxxiv.204, N. Moore).

GLMS 2596/2 has the signatures of both Thomas Moundeford and James Speght, who acted as auditors of the churchwarden accounts in May 1621 (fol.32<sup>v</sup>).

25. There are no references to the birth of Rachel Speght in any of the London parish registers. The Registers of St Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, 1558-1663 and St. Michael Bassishaw, 1538-1625, ed. A.W. Hughes Clarke, p.42, mention the burial of a Rachel Speght on 21 May 1595. Rachel Speght, who was married at the age of 24 in 1621, would have been born in 1597. If this was a daughter of James Speght, and Rachel Speght the first female child to be born

after the death of the earlier Rachel, it would not have been uncommon for her to have been named after the earlier daughter.

26. The 'worst of tymes' were the early 1640s, when Thomas Case, the Puritan divine, was appointed rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, in 1641, after the sequestration of John Jones, who had succeeded James Speght in 1637 as rector of St Mary Magdalen. Bramston writes that Case often tried, though unsuccessfully, to persuade Mary Moundeford to leave the Established Church (The Autobiography of John Bramston, K.B., London, 1945, p.14).

27. John Bramston's autobiography records that 'Many of her relations bequeathed the education of their daughters to her' (The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, K.B., p.14).

28. Some fifteen years later William Austin's Haec homo, published posthumously in 1637, also argued for the intellectual equality of women: 'In the sexe is all the difference; which is but onely in the body. For, she hath the same reasonable soul [...] the same mind; the same understanding, and both men and women can enter the Kingdom of Heaven' (B3<sup>r</sup>).

29. Elizabeth Joceline, a contemporary of Rachel Speght, whose The mothers legacie, to her unborne childe was published posthumously in 1624, wrote the advice to her child during her pregnancy. The Letter to her Husband reflects the traditional views on the necessity of a restricted education for girls. If her child is a daughter, she wrote, 'I desire her bringing up may bee learning the Bible, as my sisters doe, good housewifery, writing, and good workes: other learning a woman needs not' (B5<sup>v</sup>). Joceline herself was educated by her maternal grandfather William Chaderton, Bishop of Lincoln, 'in languages, history, and some arts', though 'principally in the studies of piety' (DNE xxix.399, E. Cannan).

Joceline's views echo those of Juan Luis Vives in Instruction of a Christen woman, London [?1529] published almost a century earlier. Although Vives is not opposed to education for women, he would have their education limited to the acquisition of reading skills, enabling them to read the Bible and devotional works, and practical skills, preparing them for their domestic duties (E2<sup>r</sup>v).

30. In 'The Dreame', the Dreamer feeds on knowledge: 'Till some occurence called me away/ And made me rest content with that I had,/ Which was but little, as effect doth show;/ And quenched hope for gaining any more,/ For I my time must other-ways bestow./ I therefore to that place returned againe,/ From whence I came, and where I must remaine' (B4<sup>r</sup>).

31. Ester Sowernam, Ester hath hang'd Haman, London 1617, A2<sup>v</sup>.

32. On her travels, Speght meets Death: 'Whose rigour whil'st I furiously did view,/ Upon a sodeyne, ere I was aware;/ With perceiving dart my mother deare it slew;/ Which when I saw it made me so to weepe,/ That teares and sobs did rouze me from my sleepe./ But when I wak't, I founde my dreame was true;/ For Death had ta'ne my mothers breath away,/ Though of her life it could not her bereave,/ Sith shee in glorie lives with Christ for aye;/ Which makes me glad, and thankfull for her blisse,/ Though still bewayle her absence, whom I misse' (B4<sup>v</sup>).

33. Cf. E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, London 1953, p.87.

34. James Speght, A briefe demonstration, who have [...] the spirit of Christ, London 1613. Dedicated to the Company of Goldsmiths, (A3<sup>r</sup>), of which Company Speght had been a member since 1607. The Wardens' Accounts and Court Minutes of the Goldsmiths' Company include the following entry: '[4 James I] Mr. Speight, a godly preacher, sworn without payment of fees' (Sir Walter Sherburne Prideaux, Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company, London 1896, 1.107).

-, The day-spring of comfort. A sermon preached the 6. of January 1610,

London 1615.

-, [Anr. issue, with cancel tp.] The Christians comfort, London 1616. This sermon is dedicated to Sir Baptist Hicks, his wife Elizabeth and their children, and was preached by Speght on the occasion of Hicks's appointment as contractor for Crown lands in 1609 (A2<sup>r</sup>). Hicks was a wealthy merchant and apparently a benefactor to James Speght, as to many others. He was a parishioner of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street.

35. Patricia Crawford, 'Provisional Checklist of Women's Published Writings 1600-1700', in Women in English Society 1500-1800, ed. M. Prior, London 1985, pp.232-64.

36. Although AEmilia Lanyer pleaded for women in her poem Salve deus rex Judaeorum, London 1611, the poem is not primarily concerned with a vindication of women.

37. Arber, iii.597.

38. W.W. Greg, Licensers for the Press, &c. to 1640, Oxford, 1962, pp.85-6. Speght licensed five copies for the press between 1607 and 1610.

39. The printer Archer employed for A mouzell for Melastomus was Nicholas Okes. Title-pages, dedicatory epistles and text are printed in ruled compartments. Running title A Mouzell for Melastomus for the text. The second part of A mouzell for Melastomus, the 'Quaeres', issued with a separate title-page though the text is printed continuously with the first part. References to biblical passages are printed in the margin.

40. B1<sup>r</sup> features a list of errata, seven in all, while G3<sup>v</sup> adds a further erratum.

41. Grosart, Swetnam, the Woman-hater, arraigned by Women, p.xxix, xxx.

42. Travitsky, The Paradise of Women, p.105.

43. Goreau, The Whole Duty of a Woman, p.68.

44. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.92. Earlier she considered A mouzell for Melastomus to be 'single-mindedly Christian', p.89.

45. Ibid., p.89, 92.

46. Ibid., p.91.

47. Cf. Utley, The Crooked Rib, p.35.

48. The other reasons she puts forward are: 'if it should have had free passage without any answers at all [...] the vulgar ignorant might have beleevd his Diabolicall infamies to be infallible truths, not to bee infringed', and 'to comfort the mindes of all of Hevahs sex, both rich and poore, learned and unlearned, with this Antidote, that if the feare of God reside in their hearts, maugre all adversaries, they are highly esteemed and accounted of in the eyes of their gracious Redeemer' (A3<sup>v</sup>).

49. Speght writes: 'All was very good. If All, then Woman, who excepting man, is the most excellent creature under the Canopie of heaven' (C2<sup>r</sup>). Speght's inclusion of man is alien to the tradition of the formal defence, which never allows man to be equal or superior to woman in its celebration of human excellence. Cf. Anthony Gibson, A womans woorth, London 1599, G1<sup>v</sup>: 'It was shee that had her birthe in the terrestriall Paradise, and not man' - this to argue for woman's greater excellence.

50. The objections are (1) that woman, although created good, brought death into the world (cf. The arraignment of women, B1<sup>r</sup>, lines 19-21); (2) that only Eve was deceived by the serpent; (3) that Paul's statement, 'It is good for a man not to touch a woman' (1 Cor. 7:1) argues against marriage and (4) that Solomon's invective against women (Eccles. 7:28) is directed against the female sex in general (C2<sup>iv</sup>).

Only one of these objections is to be found in The arraignment of women, so that Speght is here probably not responding to Swetnam's attack.

Rachel Speght meets the fourth objection with the consideration that Solomon was probably thinking of his concubines and wives, a thousand in all,

when he pronounced this judgement. An earlier instance of this argument can be found in Francis Meres, Gods arithmeticke, London 1597, C6<sup>r</sup>: 'Hee that had seven hundred Concubines, and three hundred wives, which makes up a thousand women, hee sayth, Eccles. 7, that amongst a thousand Women hee found not one good'.

51. Cf. I.G., An apologie for womenkinde, London 1605, B3<sup>r</sup>: 'To winne the man he thought it was no doubt, / That was his feare the woman would stand out'.

52. Andrew Willet, Hexapla in Genesin, D6<sup>v</sup>.

53. Ibid., C6<sup>r</sup>. Cf. A mouzell for Melastomus, C4<sup>r</sup>: 'For the third objection, It is good for man not [to] touch a woman: The Apostle makes it not a positive prohibition, but speakes it onelie because of the Corinths present necessitie, who were then persecuted by the enemies of the Church'.

54. Cf. Gervase Babington, Certaine plaine [...] notes, upon [...] Genesis, London 1596, C3<sup>v</sup>.

Ester Sowernam rehearses the efficient, material, formal and final causes of woman's creation (Ester hath hang'd Haman, B3<sup>r</sup>-B4<sup>r</sup>).

55. William Whately, A bride-bush, London 1617, D2<sup>rv</sup>. A bride-bush was enlarged into a marriage treatise for the 1619 edition.

Henry Smith considered the three duties of the husband to be affection for his wife, the establishment of a partnership in marriage, and honouring his wife as the weaker vessel (A preparative to marriage, E3<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>v</sup>, E5<sup>r</sup>). Samuel Hieron's wedding sermon A bridegroom enjoins the husband, since 'hee is called the Head of the Wyfe', to 'looke out every way, to protect, to supply, to furnish, to remoove inconveniences, to procure comforts', and to be 'unto the wife a kinde of domesticall instructor' B4<sup>r</sup>.

56. Cf. Whately, A bride-bush, F1<sup>rv</sup>: 'the husband [should] compell not his wife by his authority to attempt things unlawfull', she must disobey him in that case, since 'the conscience is Gods immediate officer'.

57. H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1603-1640, Cambridge 1970, p.90, mentions the instance of Bishop Thomas Morton's answer to the Catholic Theophilus Higgins in a religious controversy which started with the publication of The first motive of T.H. to suspect the integrity of his religion in 1609. Morton printed the offensive passages in Higgins's work and continued to dispute them, 'so that the reader can see exactly what the point is and how it is being met'.

58. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.88. She also refers to Coryll Crandall's opinion that Speght was 'perhaps excessively concerned' with Swetnam's grammar, see Swetnam the Woman-Hater, ed. Crandall, p.7.

59. See the commentary to the text, C2<sup>r</sup>, lines 10-16; G2<sup>v</sup>, lines 3-4.

60. See the commentary to the text, H1<sup>v</sup>, lines 29-31. H2<sup>r</sup>, lines 1-8; H2<sup>r</sup>, lines 16ff.; F1<sup>v</sup>, lines 3-15; H3<sup>r</sup>, lines 19-24; G1<sup>r</sup>, lines 11-14, quoted in A mouzell for Melastomus (G2<sup>rv</sup>) to expose the contradictions in The araignment of women.

61. See the commentary to the text, E4<sup>r</sup>, lines 15-16, for Speght's full response.

62. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.92.

63. Howell, Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500-1700, p.6, writes that Aristotle's logical treatises were the ruling authority in the first seventy years of the sixteenth century. John Seton's Dialectica, of which the first three books were published in 1554, is reputed to have been the 'standard treatise on logic' for almost a century (p.50). Ramus's reforms of dialectic and rhetoric were the subject of controversy in his own country, France, and later also in England (pp.178-245).

64. The three commendatory poems occur on B4<sup>rv</sup> and are signed 'Philaethes', 'Philomathes', and 'Favour B.'. These pseudonyms have not been

identified. 'Philaethes' does not occur as a pseudonym in the early seventeenth century. Halkett & Laing (ed. John Horden) refers to John Clapham (H130), one of the six clerks in the Court of Chancery in 1613, who used the pseudonym 'Philomathes' for his Historie of England (London 1602), but no connection between him and the Speghts has been established. 'Favour B.' is an odd pseudonym, unless it is a surname followed by an initial 'B'. Although 'Favour' was an existing family name, the order of surname and initial seems an unlikely combination.

65. See the commentary to the text, II<sup>r</sup>, lines 20-21.

66. A Mouzell for Melastomus, C3<sup>v</sup>: 'The offence therefore of Adam and Eve is by Saint Austin thus distinguished, the Man sinned against God and himselfe, the woman against God, her selfe, and her husband'.

C4<sup>v</sup>: '(as Eusebius writeth) Paul was afterward married himselfe'. Eusebius Pamphili, Bp., The auncient ecclesiasticall histories of the first six hundred years after Christ, London 1577, E2<sup>v</sup>.

C4<sup>v</sup> has 'Pagnine' in the margin against the statement: 'among the said thousand women found he not one upright'. Rachel Speght may have found the references to Augustine and Pagninus in a biblical commentary; Andrew Willet for example states in his Hexapla in Genesin that he drew on 'Pagnins' (\*4<sup>r</sup>) for his commentary.

67. The terms 'Ironia', 'Sarcasmus' and 'Metonimie' for example occur in George Puttenham, The arte of English poesie, London 1589, 'Of Ornament', Y1<sup>r</sup>, Y1<sup>v</sup>, X1<sup>v</sup>.

68. The address of the second epistle is a parody of Swetnam's address of his own second epistle: 'Not unto the veriest Ideot that ever set Pen to Paper, but to the Cynicall Bayter of Women' (B1<sup>v</sup>).

69. Angenot, Les Champions des Femmes, p.49, refers to the opponents of Jacques Olivier (pseud.), who pointed to his vulgar style which they considered 'plustost un style de Rotisseur que d'un Ecrivain', and his lack of method: 'ce discours est un vray potpourry, un cahos [sic] de plusiers pièces rapportées'. But whereas Olivier's opponents have no real basis for their contentions, Swetnam's respondents do have a point when they expose Swetnam's illiteracy.

70. The following discussion is based on 'A hostile annotation of A Mouzell for Melastomus (1617)', published in English Studies, (1986), 6, pp.490-6, reproduced with permission of the editors.

71. Pressmark IH SP 33617 M. An Ex Libris pasted on one of the fly-leaves bears the name 'Roberti Comititis de Crewe' (Robert Offley Ashburton Crewe-Milnes).

The annotator has not been identified. He includes Latin comments in his annotations, and therefore was probably an educated man. The hand-writing is contemporary, in a distinctive set mixed hand.

72. It is not unlikely that Speght's critic learned this biographical fact from Ester Sovernam, who refers to Speght as the 'Ministers daughter' (A2<sup>v</sup>), in which case he was probably interested in the entire controversy.

73. Tirades against the use of cosmetics were common features of satires on women, but the use of cosmetics was also attacked by ministers as a certain sign of depravity. The year before A mouzell for Melastomus was published for instance, Thomas Tuke, then minister of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, attacked the use of cosmetics as an enticement to sin in A treatise against painting and tincturing of men and women, London 1616. He remarked that 'the true ornaments of Christian women, young and old, high and low, are shamefastnesse, modestie, and good works, together with the incorruption of a meeke and quiete spirite' (E3<sup>v</sup>).

74. Ester hath hang'd Haman was entered to Nicholas Bourne (Arber, iiii.600). Sovernam's name is spelt 'Ester Soutenam' in the entry of the SR.

Collation: 4<sup>o</sup>, A-H3, (§3), 31 leaves. pp.[8] 1-51. A1<sup>r</sup> title, A1<sup>v</sup> blank. A2<sup>r</sup>-A3<sup>r</sup> Dedicatory Epistle 'To All Right Honourable [...] Ladies', unsigned. A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup> Dedicatory Epistle 'To All Worthy and hopefull disposed youths [...] of Great-Brittaine, signed 'Ester Sowrenam'. B1<sup>r</sup>-C4<sup>r</sup> Text Ester hath hang'd Haman. C4<sup>v</sup> Epistle to the Reader. D1<sup>r</sup>-G4<sup>v</sup> Text Ester hath hang'd Haman. H1<sup>r</sup>-H3<sup>r</sup> Poem 'A Defence of Women, against the Author of the Arraignment of Women', signed 'Joane Sharp', errata. H3<sup>v</sup> blank.

75. Speght herself did not mention she was a clergyman's daughter in A mouzell for Melastomus.

As Speght's response was entered to Thomas Archer on 14 November 1616, and the printing may have been completed towards the end of the month, this would have given Sowernam another month to finish her own response. Although A mouzell for Melastomus is dated 1617 in the imprint, it was not unusual for books published near the end of the year to be postdated, so as not give the interested reader the impression that he was buying stale ware.

76. Chamberlain, Letters 1.400. The letter is dated 31 December 1612.

77. John Chamberlain writes to Dudley Carleton on 7 December 1622 about the proclamation, and reports in a later letter that another proclamation followed on 22 December, 'for their wives and families and widows to be gon likewise', which, he adds, 'is durus sermo for the women'. (Chamberlain, Letters ii.466, 475).

The commonplace book of Tobias Alston (c.1639), preserved in the Beinecke Library of Yale University, reproduces a poem attributed to King James (ff.134<sup>v</sup>-135<sup>r</sup>) which, whether or not it is by James I, appears to have been written around this time, as it begins with the lines: 'You weomen that doe London love so well/ Whome scarce a Proclamation can expell/ And to be kept in Fashion fine & gay/ Care not what fines their honest husbands pay/ Who dreames [sic] of nought but visitts, maskes, & Toys/ And thinke the Country contributs no joys/ You are deceived, lett not that bee your care' (f.134<sup>v</sup>).

78. The pseudonym is an obvious pun on Swetnam's name, while the first name Ester is chosen with reference to the title. The Book of Esther relates the story of Haman, the King's favourite, who, because Esther's uncle Mordecai refused to honour him, contrived to destroy Mordecai and his people. Through Esther's intercession the King ordered to hang Haman on the gallows which had been prepared for Mordecai's execution,

The implication of the title is a familiar one in formal defences: detractors of women turn against the entire female sex because rejected or disappointed by one individual woman. In Ester hath hang'd Haman, Swetnam's charges are successfully turned against him - he, too, provides the rope with which he is hanged.

79. Muld sacke, London 1620, D3<sup>r</sup>.

If the reference to Sowernam as a country gentlewoman is a fiction, it is nevertheless well sustained throughout Ester hath hang'd Haman. Sowernam promises a sequel: 'What my repaire into the Countrey enforceth me to leave rather begunne then finished; I meane (by Gods grace) to make perfect the next Terme' (C4<sup>v</sup>). The sequel would contain an answer to 'The Beare-bayting of Widdowes': 'The shortnesse of time and weight of businesse call me away, and urge me to leave of thus abruptly, but assure your selfe where I leave now, I will by Gods grace supply the next Terme to your small content. You have exceeded in your furie against widdowes, whose defence you shal heare of at the time aforesaide' (C4<sup>v</sup>). There is no evidence of a sequel in STC or SR.

80. S.R. Smith, 'The London apprentices as seventeenth-century adolescents', Past and Present, (1973) 63, p.160, believes that apprentices were encouraged to conceive of themselves as 'moral agents', and mentions Richard Johnson's The nine worthies of London, London 1592 as an example.

81. Only a limited number of books however are dedicated to apprentices



prior to 1617. Williams, Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses, lists four works by Robert Greene (STC 12234, 12243, 12279 and 12281), The boke of carvyng (STC 3291), The prentises practice in godlinesse (STC 19057) and Thomas Heywood's The foure prentises of London (STC 13321).

82. Sovernam continues to call Swetnam 'a decompounded K. I doe not meane Knight' (A4<sup>v</sup>). Shepherd, ed., The Women's Sharp Revenge, p.118, offers an explanation for 'K', linking the capital letter to the portrait of Thomas Coryate in Coryates Crudities, which is marked 'K', on the assumption that Swetnam borrowed the pseudonym 'Thomas tell-troth' from Thomas Coryate (see note 5 to chapter 6). Sovernam is to have referred to the pseudonym, and so to Coryate, by calling Swetnam a 'decompounded K'. But it seems more likely that 'K' here means 'knave', a common opprobrious term.

83. Speght is uniformly serious, cf. her criticism of D3<sup>v</sup>, lines 3-8 of The arraignment of women: 'I may as well say Barrabas was a murtherer, Joab killed Abner and Amasa, and Pharao Necho slew Josiah, therefore stay not alone in the company of a man [...]. The forme of argumentation is your owne, the whiche if you dislike, blame your selfe for proposing such a patterne, and blush at your own folly' (A Mouzell for Melastomus, G1<sup>r</sup>).

84. Sovernam celebrates Mary as 'that blessed mother and mirrour of al woman-hood, the Virgin Marie, who was magnified in the birth of Jesus, glorified by Angells, chosen by the Almighty to beare in her wombe the Saviour of mankind' (C3<sup>r</sup>).

Sovernam also refers to - though without explicitly naming - Mary Queen of Scots: 'It was by the meanes of the most renowned Queene (the happy Mother of our dread Sovereigne) that the two Kingdomes once mortall foes, are now so blessedly conjoined' (D3<sup>r</sup>). Such praise was very politic in respect of her son, the 'dread Sovereigne'. Lodowick Lloyd, who wrote The choyce of jewels, London 1606, dedicated to Queen Anne, also praises Mary Queen of Scots: 'What should wee seeke proofes far off, when we have examples at home. Had we not [a] Jewell that brought Scotland unto England[?]' (B2<sup>v</sup>).

85. 'It is furthermore to be considered, as the Maide, in her Mussell for Melastomus hath observed: that God intended to honour woman in a more excellent degree, in that he created her out of a Subject refined, as out of a Quintessence' (B3<sup>v</sup>).

86. Rachel Speght wrote an acrostic poem spelling the name 'Joseph Swetnam', prefixed to A mouzell for Melastomus, in which she also considers reason to be an antidote against frantic effusions: 'If Reason had but curb'd thy witless will,/ Or feare of God restrained they raving quill,/ such venime foule thou wouldst have blusht to spue' (B1<sup>r</sup>).

87. The title-page is reproduced in Swetnam the Woman-Hater, ed. Crandall, and Greg ii, plate lxviii.

88. Cf. William Heale, An apologie for women, B1<sup>r</sup>: 'It is a custome growne so common to under-valew their worth, as everie rhymers hath a libell to impeach their modestie; everie phantastike a poeme to plaine their unfaithfulnessse'.

89. If Sovernam was a woman, and the extent of her reading answerable to her references to the Greek and Latin authors, her reading was rather liberal for a woman. This is also true for Constantia Munda, who quotes and translates the Latin poets Juvenal, Persius, occasionally Martial.

90. Marc Angenot, Les Champions des Femmes, p.156: 'Le plus souvent, [apologists for women] renvers[ent] l'adversaire par la métastase (qui le montre aussi coupable que celui qu'il accuse) ou la retorsion (qui retourne contre lui ses propres arguments)'.

91. Jane Anger her protection for women, C3<sup>v</sup>: 'At the end of mens faire promises there is a Laberinth, & therefore ever hereafter stoppe your eares when they protest friendship, lest they come to an end before you are aware

wherby you fal without redemption. The path which leadeth therunto, is Mans Wit, and the miles endes are marked with these trees, Follie, Vice, Mischiefe, Lust, Deceite & Pride. These to deceive you shall be clothed in the raimentes of Fancie, Vertue, Modestie, Love, Truemeaning, and Hansomnes'.

Cf. I.G., An apologie for womenkinde, B4<sup>v</sup>.

92. Cf. George Wilkins, The miseries of inforst marriage, London 1607, D4<sup>r</sup>, which includes a toast 'To them that make Land fly,/ By wine, whores, and a Die. / [...] / To them that pay for their cloathes/ With nothing but with Oathes:/ Care not from whom they get,/ So they may be in debt'. Barnaby Rich, in My ladies looking glasse, London 1616, C2<sup>r</sup>, pours scorn on 'one of these poor thread bare knights Sir Nicholas Newfashions'.

There were two remaining Compters, debtors' prisons, in London at the time when Ester Sovernam wrote, the Wood Street and the Poultry Compter. They are described in John Stow, A survey of London, London 1633, p.275a, 308a. The first edition appeared in 1598.

93. The poem is signed 'Joane Sharp', a pseudonym in the same league as 'Joan-Hit-Him-Home' or Mary-Tattlewell'. As Shepherd, ed., The Women's Sharp Revenge, p.115, suggested, this poem is probably added to Ester hath hang'd Haman to supplement the rather perfunctory ending of Sovernam's response.

94. Constantia Munda's The worming of a mad dogge or A soppe for Cerberus was entered to Laurence Hayes on 19 April 1617 (Arber, iii.608).

Collation: 4<sup>o</sup>, [A2-A4] B-F3, (\$3), 22 leaves. pp.[8] 1-35. [A2<sup>r</sup>] title, [A2<sup>v</sup>] blank. [A3<sup>rv</sup>] Dedictory poem 'To the Right Worshipfull Lady Prudentia Munda', signed 'Constantia Munda'. [A4<sup>rv</sup>]-B1<sup>v</sup> Dedictory Poem 'To Joseph Swetnam', unsigned. B2<sup>r</sup>-F3<sup>r</sup> Text The worming of a mad dogge. F3<sup>v</sup> blank.

95. The choice of the pseudonym 'Constantia Munda' and the related 'Prudentia Munda', 'pure constancy' and 'pure wisdom', calls to mind Queen Zenobia's recommendation of the study of moral philosophy in Sir Thomas Elyot's Defence of good women, which taught her the virtues of 'prudence and co[n]stancy' (D2<sup>r</sup>).

Constantia Munda presents herself as a young woman still pursuing her education: 'As first your paines in bearing me was such/ A benefit beyond requitall, that twere much/ To thinke what pangs of sorrow you sustain'd/ In child-birth, when mine infancy obtain'd/ The vitall drawing in of ayre, so your love/ Mingled with care hath shewen it selfe, above/ The ordinary course of Nature: seeing you still/ Are in perpetuall Labour with me, even untill/ The second birth of education perfect me,/ You Travaill still, though Churched oft you be' (\*3<sup>r</sup>).

96. In the dedicatory poem to Prudentia Munda she had already referred to Sovernam's pamphlet (\*3<sup>v</sup>), which made her decide to discontinue a full-fledged response, 'lest/ I should be censur'd that I undertooke/ A worke that's done already: so his booke/ Hath scapt my fingers'.

97. This was a common highbrow complaint, cf. Thomas Nash, The anatomie of absurditie, Al<sup>r</sup>: 'it fareth nowe adaires with unlearned Idiots as it doth with the Asses, who bring forth all their life long, even so these brainlesse Bussards, are every quarter bigge wyth one Pamphlet or other'.

Constantia Munda continues in the same vein: 'Every fantasticke Poetaster which [...] can but patch up a hobbling verse together, will strive to represent unseemely figments imputed to our sex, (as a pleasing theme to the vulgar) on the publique Theatre' (B3<sup>r</sup>).

98. In the dedicatory poem to Joseph Swetnam, she had earlier attacked his presumption: 'How could your vild untutour'd muse infold/ And wrap itself in envious, cruell, bold,/ Nay impudent detraction, and then throw/ And hurle without regard your venom'd darts [...] / [...] at the hearts/ Of commons, gentry, and nobility?' (B1<sup>r</sup>).

She continues this theme when she warns Swetnam that 'a private abuse of

your owne familiar doxies should not breake into open slanders of the religious matron together with the prostitute strumpet; of the nobly-descended Ladies, as the obscure base vermine that have bitten you' (C2<sup>r</sup>).

When Constantia Munda refers to 'familiar doxies', she places Swetnam in the company of rogues and vagabonds, cf. OED iii.630, which defines 'doxy' as 'Originally the term in Vagabonds' Cant for the unmarried mistress of a beggar or rogue', and refers to John Awdeley's The fraternitie of vagabonds (1565), as one of the first 'rogue-books'.

99. 'Woman the second edition of the Epitome of the whole world, the second Tome of that goodly volume compiled by the great God of heaven and earth is most shamefully blurd, and derogatively rased by scribbling penns of savage & uncought monsters. [...] they will presume to call in question even the most absolute worke composed by the worlds great Archtitect. A strange blasphemy, to finde fault with that which the Privy Councell of the high and mighty Parliament of the inscrutable Tri-unitie in Heaven determined to be very good' (B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>r</sup>). The concern here seems not to be with the substance but with the form of the argument.

100. Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance, p.90, discusses the absence of any conventional defence of women.

101. Shepherd, ed., The Women's Sharp Revenge, pp. 149-157 passim, gives the references to the sources used by Constantia Munda.

102. Juvenal's sixth satire, G.G. Ramsay, ed., Juvenal and Persius, London 1918, p.102: 'quem praestare potest mulier galeata pudorem, quae fugit a sexu?' - 'what modesty can you expect in a woman who wears a helmet, abjures her own sex?', is reminiscent of the concerns of the Hic mulier controversy of 1620.

103. She calls Juvenal (presumably only the Juvenal of the sixth satire) Swetnam's own 'Poet' (D1<sup>v</sup>). The other Juvenalian satires she quotes from are satires ix, x and xiii.

104. K.H. Mehnert, Sal Romanus und Espirit Français. Studien zur Martialrezeption im Frankreich des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, Bonn 1970, discusses Martial's reputation as 'unzüchtiger Autor' (p.14) in France, established soon after the first edition. In 1522, a Paris edition appeared, 'magna diligentia nuperime castigata' (p.15).

Thomas Farnaby, the classical scholar, edited Martial, Juvenal and Persius. The Martial edition came out in 1615, the edition of Juvenal and Persius in 1612.

105. Thomas Becon, The workes of Thomas Becon, quoted in Baldwin, Shakespeare's small Latine and lesse Greeke, i.109.

106. Thomas Salter for example brought out The mirrour of modestie, London 1579, an educational treatise which warns against the effects of too liberal a reading for women. If young women are offered the Christian poets, they might also be tempted to read the 'lascivious bookes of Ovide, Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus, and in Virgill of Eneas and Dido; and among the Greeke poettes of the filthie love [...] as in Homer and suche like' (D1<sup>r</sup>).

See Ruth Kelso, Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance, Urbana, Ill. 1956, chapter four, for a discussion of women's reading in the Renaissance. Kelso concludes that the discussion on women's education was conducted 'with an eye always on the image of women as a creature, if not of limited powers at least of limited sphere, and with the assumption that nothing must be allowed in the training of her mind that would encourage or enable her to compete on even ground' (p.77).

107. Julius Caesar Scaliger, Poetices libri septem. STC does not list any English editions of this work. Cervantes's History of the valorous and witty knight-errant, Don Quixote (part 1), was published in London in 1612. 15). Thomas Coryate's Coryats crudities was published in London in 1611.

Benvenuto's Il Passaggiere came out in London in 1612.

108. E.g. 'digit' (C3<sup>r</sup>, line 6) in the sense of 'to hold', an instance of which is not recorded in OED. The earliest instance of 'digit' in the sense of 'to point with the finger' dates to 1627 (OED iii.354). 'Pantocrator' (B3<sup>r</sup>, line 7), 'catapotion' (D1<sup>v</sup>, lines 5-6) and 'Gynaecia' (B4<sup>v</sup>, line 27), not recorded in OED.

A number of words are first recorded in OED in books first published in the 1620s, such as: 'broken-winded' (C4<sup>v</sup>, line 5) (1627), 'temulent' (E3<sup>r</sup>, line 1) (1628), 'potgun' (C1<sup>r</sup>, line 24) (1624), 'procacitie' (C4<sup>r</sup>, line 10) (1621).

109. See chapter 4, n.48, 49.

110. In England in 1620 the printer's policy of 'arranging' a controversy can be clearly detected in the publication of Hic mulier and Haec vir. Hic mulier was published as a protest against 'mannish women', and 'intended to cure the staggers of the masculine-feminines of our times' (tp.) The pamphlet was entered to John Trundle on 9 February 1620 (Arber, iii.665), the reply, also for John Trundle, Haec Vir: or, the womanish-man: being an answer to Hic-Mulier, was entered only ten days later, on 19 February 1620 (Arber, iii.665).

Ian Maclean, Woman Triumphant, Oxford 1977, pp.32-3, discusses a 'querelle des femmes' of 1617 in France, provoked by Alexis Troussel's Alphabet de l'imperfection et malice des femmes (1617). This controversy, unlike the Swetnam controversy in England, included both attacks on and defences of women. Two of the attacks on women were printed by Jean Petit-Pas, who also issued the first edition of the Alphabet. Maclean supposes that the debate may have been stimulated by the printers.

111. A discourse of the married and single life, London 1621. For the authorship of the (translated) Discourse see Gustav Ungerer, 'Roland du Jardin: Author of A discourse of the married and single life?' in The Library 6th series (2), 1980, pp.211-16.

1. Shepherd, ed., The Women's Sharp Revenge, p.22, seems to misinterpret the publishing history of The arraignment of women and the ensuing controversy on the assumption that the printers, Edward Allde, George Purslowe, [Thomas Snodham] for The arraignment of women, Nicholas Okes for A mouzell for Melastomus, [Thomas Snodham] for Ester hath hang'd Haman and [George Purslowe] for The worming of a mad dogge, were the owners of these four copies. But Thomas Archer, Nicholas Bourne and Laurence Hayes were quite clearly the owners of the copies which they entered in the Stationers' Registers. It is for example apparent from Archer's selection of five different printers for editions of The arraignment of women that he was the owner. All imprints read 'Printed for Thomas Archer'.

Shepherd proposes we 'have to think of the Renaissance printer more as we would think of a publisher: they were more than simply technicians'. Although a number of printers also acted as publishers, there are also a large number of printers who remained 'technicians' and carried out printing orders for other members of the Stationers' Company. Edward Allde, Archer's first printer, is a case in point.

2. Arber, iii.563.

3. Ibid., ii.268, 734, 835.

4. Ibid., iii.226. This was Henry Timberlake's A true and strange discourse of the travailes of two English pilgrimes, London 1603.

5. Arber, iv.134. George Marcelline, Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum, London 1625.

6. Morrison, STC Index to Printers, p.3: STC 23539.

Thomas Archer may have intended one last attempt at profit-making before assigning the book to Francis Grove on 10 September 1628 (Arber, iv.202). Archer was not unloading his stock, however, when he transferred his copy to Grove. He had previously assigned books in 1618 and 1619, while his next and last assignment after 1628 occurs in 1631. On 25 September 1618 Archer assigned to Thomas Snodham his share in William Cowper's Heaven opened 'provided that this entrance shalbe void if anie other man have right to the said copie' (Arber, iii.633). On 20 April 1619 he assigned to Snodham The famous and renowned historie of Primaleon of Greece. On 10 February 1631 Archer assigned to Hugh Perry Dekker and Middleton's The roaring girle, Webster's The white diuel [the Transcripts erroneously refer to Thomas Adams's The White Devil], Robert Coverte's A true and almost incredible report of an Englishman, that [...] travelled by land through many unknowne kingdomes, Henry Timberlake's A true and strange discourse, Marston's The insatiate countesse and Smuggs jests (Arber, iv.248). Smuggs jests was entered by Joseph Hunt and Thomas Archer on 5 April 1608 as part of 'the lyfe and deathe of the merry Devill of Edmonton' by T.B., though apparently never published separately by them (Arber, iii.374).

7. W.A. Jackson, Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640, London 1957, p.112. Hereafter referred to as Jackson, Records [...] 1602-1640.

8. W.W. Greg, ed., A Companion to Arber, Oxford 1969, p.43, 49. The Star Chamber decree of 1586 to regulate the number and activities of printers limited the number of apprentices to three for the Master and Upper-Wardens of the Company. The Under-Wardens and Livery men were allowed two apprentices, while the yeomanry were allowed only one apprentice. (Arber, ii.812, Article 8). This decree was referred to in a Report to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on the Complaint of the Bookbinders freemen of the City of London of 1597 (Arber, iii.40-2), which recommended an Act of Common Council to be passed in order to enforce the Star Chamber decree of 1586.

9. The Star Chamber decree of 1586, Article 4 (Arber, ii.810) forbade printers to print any unauthorized or unlicensed books, on pain of defacement of presses and type, and the dismissal and imprisonment of the printer. (Greg, A Companion to Arber, p.41).

10. Gardiner, History of England, iii.309, 311; iv.176-7, 182-3.

11. Jackson, Records [...] 1602-1640, p.137: 'It is ordered, that M<sup>r</sup> Aldee, and Thomas Archer, shalbe committed to prison upon M<sup>r</sup> Secretaries Calverte commands for printing a book called, A Breife description of the reasons, that make the declarac[i]on of Ban made against the King of Bohemia, as being Electo<sup>r</sup> Palatine Dated ~22- [sic] Januarij last of noe value or worth, and therefore not to be respected. It is alsoe recorded, that the barra of his [Aldee's] presses shal be taken downe'.

12. Ibid., p.466.

13. Ibid., p.472. Jackson notes that Good news from Breda has not been identified. In June 1625 Breda surrendered to Spinola after a ten months' siege. Archer's publication may have brought news of initial victory for the States.

14. Ibid., p.443. Archer and Okes were fined on 22 May 1609 for printing Robert Armin's The history of the two maids of More-clacke, with the life of John in the hospitall, published anonymously in 1609.

15. Ibid., p.188.

16. Ibid., p.221, entry for 20 December 1630: 'It is ordered [that] Tho: Archer shall have 10<sup>s</sup> [per] quarter out of [the] poores money'. W. Craig Ferguson compiled a list of the entries in the Stationers' Company Poor Book for 1608-1700 (The Library, 5th Series 31 (1976), pp.37-51). Archer continued to receive ten shillings out of the Poor Fund until the third quarter of 1633. His widow, Elizabeth, succeeded him in the fourth quarter of 1633, and continued to draw on the Poor Fund until the second quarter of 1643 (p.39). Ferguson states that the payment of ten shillings was the standard amount of money allowed to the poor of the Company.

17. There is one interesting but unresolved entry in Jackson, Records [...] 1602-1640, p.457, entry for 20 February 1615: 'Re[ceived] of michaeli Sparke for arrestinge Tho: Archer w[ith]out license of the companye' five shillings. Nothing further is mentioned about the incident. Sparke took up his freedom in 1610 (Arber, iii.683). His first book entry was made on 21 January 1617 (Arber, iii.601). Why Sparke should have arrested Archer in 1615 is not clear.

18. Henry Timberlake's A true and strange discourse, first published anonymously in 1603, was reprinted in 1608, 1609, 1611, 1612, 1616 and 1620. Joseph Swetnam's The arraignment of women, first published under the pseudonym 'Thomas Telltroth' in 1615, was reprinted the same year, in 1616, 1617, 1619, 1622 and 1628, after which Archer assigned the pamphlet to Francis Grove. There may have been an edition in 1621 as well (see bibliographical descriptions J).

19. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p.533.

20. Henry Timberlake's narrative was entered to Richard Jones on 21 October 1601 (Arber, iii.193). Jones apparently never printed the account. On 4 February 1603 the account of Timberlake's travels was entered anonymously to Archer. The book entry for Richard Jones spells Timberlake's name as Tymberly, while Archer's entry does not mention his name. These two entries have probably caused some confusion over Timberlake's name. The 'True and Strange Discourse' is entered in the BL catalogue under Timberlake (pressmark G.6722; 1603 edition). A Dutch translation (1678) of what must be the same book is entered under Timberley: Korte Verhandelinge van de reyse ter selver tijdt van Cayri in Egypten tot Jerusalem (pressmark 566.e.22/6). Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p.514, furthermore mentions

travel letters written by a Henry Tymberly, which were printed without his permission and contained many errors. This is probably the same Henry Timberlake.

21. DNB lvi.20-1, biography by C. F. Smith.

22. Robert Coverte, A true and almost incredible report. The second impression, corrected, came out in 1614.

23. John Earle describes Paul's Walk in his Microcosmographie (London 1628): 'The visitants are all men without exception, but the principall inhabitants are stale knights, and Captaines out of service, men of long Rapiers, and Breeches, which after all turne Merchants here, and trafficke for Newes'. St. Paul's he calls 'the generall Mint of all famous lies, which are here like the legends of Popery, first coyn'd & stamp't in the Church'. For Pauls Walke, see Gwendolen Murphy's A Cabinet of Characters, London 1925, pp.180-1.

24. Chamberlain, Letters, i.316.

25. Domestic news of a political nature was strictly forbidden, see Leonora Rostenberg, 'Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, First "Masters of the Staple" in The Library, 5th Series 12 (1957), p.28.

26. P.M. Handover, Printing in London, London 1960, p.98, 102, 103.

27. D.C. Collins, A Handlist of News Pamphlets 1590-1610, London 1943.

STC 13146, 1590 (p.11); STC 17673, 1597 (p.34); STC 14923, 1600 (p.44); STC 20891, [1600] (p.45); STC 18589, 1605 (p.72); STC 14668, [1605?] (p.74); STC 5194, 1606 (p.78); STC 6552, 1606 (p.79); STC 20960, 1606 (p.79); STC 23131, 1606 (p.85); STC 13159, 1610 (p.98); STC 21005, 1610 (p.99).

28. F. Dahl, A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks 1620-1642, Stockholm 1953, p.18 (STC 18507.1-28).

29. *Ibid.*, Dahl 28. STC 18507.29. These corantos were initially published in single sheet folio (STC 18507.29-35), but this format was soon abandoned. In October 1621 the first (surviving) newsbook was published, in quarto (STC 18507.35A).

30. *Ibid.*, p.20.

31. *Ibid.*, p.49. Joseph Mead's letter was dated 22 September 1621. Dahl refers to two other letters, by John Chamberlain, dated 4 August 1621 and 16 February 1622 (Chamberlain, Letters, ii.396 and 423), complaining of the deceitfulness and unreliability of newsbooks.

32. *Ibid.*, pp.22-3.

33. In 1603, the first year of Archer's publishing career, he issued A proclamation or edict. Touching the opening of the traffique, of Spain, with these countries, (STC 18472), reprinted in the same year (STC 18472.a). In 1607 he issued Articles of agreement, concerning the cessation of warre, betweene the arch-duke and the generall states. Tr. W.W.B. (STC 18455). In 1612 Archer issued An edict or proclamation; published by the states generall how all Jesuits, priests and monkes shall behave themselves (STC 18457). In the same year he brought out The arraignment of John Selman, who was executed neere Charing-crosse (STC 22182a.5). In 1613 there followed Robert Allyme's Teares of joy at the happy departure of Fredericke and Elizabeth, prince, and princesse Palatines (STC 385), A wonderfull and most lamentable declaration of the great hurt done, [...] in Erfford [...] (STC 10511.7) and A true declaration of the arrivall of C. Haga, ambassadour [...] at Constantinople (STC 12600).

34. Dahl, A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks, p.55. Thomas Archer and Nicholas Bourne had both been apprenticed to Cuthbert Burby, so they were probably acquainted from their apprentice days. Their subsequent careers however are quite divergent.

35. *Ibid.*, p.55, 86, 266.

36. STC 18507.356, 18507.357, and 18507.358.

37. STC 6537, Greg 256a; STC 17908, Greg 298; STC 25178, Greg 306; STC 17476; Greg 315(al). See also Greg 283 and 285. None of these plays were entered to Archer in the Stationers' Registers, although Webster's The white devil, Marston's The insatiate countess and Dekker and Middleton's The roaring girle are included in the book transferral from Archer to Hugh Perry on 10 February 1631 (Arber, iv.248).

38. Chamberlain, Letters, 1.334: 'this last Sunday Moll Cut-purse a notorious baggage (that used to go in mans apparell and challenged the feild of diverse gallants) was brought to [St. Paul's Cross], where she wept bitterly and seemed very penitent, but yt is being doubted she was maudelin druncke, beeing dicovered to have tipled of three quarts of sacke before she came to her penance'. The letter is written from London, on 12 February 1612.

39. Thomas Dekker's The ravens almanacke, London 1609 (STC 6519) was entered to Laurence L'isle on 7 July 1608 (Arber, iii.385). L'isle apparently never printed the pamphlet. All three editions were printed for Thomas Archer, although there is no mention of a book transferral in the Registers. Everie woman in her humor, London 1609 (STC 25948).

40. See chapter 3.2.3 and 3.5.

41. Arber, iii.600, 608.

42. H.R. Plomer, A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641-1667, London 1968, pp.20-1. Hereafter referred to as Plomer, Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers [...] 1641-1667.

43. Greg, A Companion to Arber, pp. 79, 253-7, 273-4. Jackson, Records [...] 1602-1640, p.299.

44. The book transferral was entered in the Registers on 16 October 1609. On 22 March 1616 Bourne also acquired Ambrose Garbrand's part in Christopher Sutton's Disce mori (Arber, iii.585). Purslowe had already acquired the other part of Disce mori on 2 November 1613 (Arber, iii.535).

45. Richard Johnson, The most famous history of the seven champions of christendome [The first part], London 1596. Nicholas Bourne assigned the 'Seaven Champions' to Thomas Snodham on 25 June 1612 (Arber, iii.488). Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p.391, calls this work a 'romance combining all the elements that appealed to bourgeois interest and patriotism'.

46. Arber, iv.29, 389, 472; v.lxiv. Jackson, Records [...] 1602-1640, p.81, 82, 220, 251, 339, shows him quietly rising in importance in the Company ranks: a yeoman in 1615, he was admitted to the new Livery on 21 June 1616. On 23 November 1630 John Harrison's Livery part in the English Stock fell on Nicholas Bourne. He was chosen Assistant on 2 October 1633, together with Nathaniel Butter, Thomas Downes and Richard Moore, and stood for an Assistant's part in the English Stock on several occasions until his election on 19 December 1640.

47. One of Bourne's publications in 1617, the year when he brought out Ester hath hang'd Haman, was William Whately's A bride-bush. Whately was a preacher with distinctly Puritan leanings, and was dubbed 'the Roaring Boy of Banbury', where he preached, because of his considerable vocal range. Whately's A bride-bush was originally published as a wedding sermon. It was entered to Nicholas Bourne on 15 March 1616 (Arber, iii.584).

48. The 'booke of the merchant of Venice' was entered to Thomas Hayes on 28 October 1600 (Arber, iii.175). It had previously been entered to James Roberts on 22 July 1598 (Arber, iii.122). Laurence Hayes acquired the rights to The most excellent historie of the Merchant of Venice together with Heliodorus's An Ethiopian History on 8 July 1619 (Arber, iii.651). Laurence Hayes issued an edition of The most excellent historie of the Merchant of



Venice in 1637.

49. The only two entries in Morrison, STC Index to Printers for Laurence Hayes are STC 18257 and STC 22298. The Stationers' Registers only include a few book entries to Hayes (Arber, iii.608, 651 and iv.236). The other entries concern an assignment from Thomas Langley (Arber, iv.143) and an assignment from Hayes to Francis Coules of books previously assigned to him by Langley (Arber, iv.204).

50. H.R. Plomer writes that Allde's books 'were rarely illustrated and their title-pages were often entirely unadorned. Only in ballads or tracts of a very popular nature did he ever employ woodcuts' ('The Long Shop in the Poultry' in Bibliographica, ed. A.W. Pollard, London 1896, ii.78).

R.B. McKerrow has calculated that Allde printed for some 86 different booksellers. For about fifty-five of them he only printed one book. Allde printed twelve surviving books for Archer. STC 18472 (1603); STC 6537, 21368 (1607); STC 24080 (1608); STC 6519, 25948 (1609); STC 18457, 24083 (1612); STC 23533 (1615); STC 18507.67, 13573, 18507.47 (1622). R.B. McKerrow, 'Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer', The Library, 4th series 10 (1930), p.138.

51. See also 6.4.

52. R.B. McKerrow, Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students, Oxford 1928, p.184, writes that generally, first editions were superior to subsequent editions. The exceptions usually concern first editions of books that were printed surreptitiously, issued in some haste, or produced at a low financial risk.

53. Arber, iii.658, Greg 362.

Although Greg 107, 155 and 248 deal with contemporary persons, they are 'domestic tragedies' based on actual events and in that sense do not compare with The roaring girle or Swetnam the woman-hater, arraigned by women. Greg 220 deals with the exploits of Captain Thomas Stukeley in the 1560s. The play was probably performed in the late 1590s. Greg 248 is an account of the travels of the Shirley brothers and its interest lies mainly in the narration of their travels.

54. Swetnam, the woman-hater: 'if you will marry, marry none of these: / Neither the faire, nor the foule; the riche, nor the poore;/ The good, nor the bad' I.ii.133-5. Cf. The arraignment of women, F2<sup>v</sup>, lines 19-22.

Swetnam, the woman-hater: 'Then we should ne'r be acquainted with the deceitfull devices of a womans crooked conditions, which are so many, that if all the World were Paper; the Sea, Inke; Trees and Plants, Pens; and every man Clarkes, Scribes, and Notaries: yet would all that Paper be scribbled over, the Inke wasted, the Pens worne to the stumps, the Scriveners wearie, before they could describe the hundreth part of a womans wickednesse'. Cf. The arraignment of women, F1<sup>r</sup>, lines 4-12.

Swetnam, the woman-hater: 'Those that have good wives, ride to Hell/ Upon ambling Hackneys, and all the rest/ Upon trotting Jades to the Devill' I.ii.164-6. Cf. The arraignment of women, F2<sup>r</sup>, lines 12-16.

Swetnam, the woman-hater: 'they are coozening, cologing, ungratefull, deceitfull/ wavering, waspish, light, toyish, proud, sullen,/ Discourteous, cruell, unconstant, and what not?' III.ii.25-8. Cf. The arraignment of women, C4<sup>v</sup>, lines 10-12.

55. Swetnam, the woman-hater, V.ii.291-7.

56. The title-page of The roaring girle is reprinted in Greg, i, plate lviii.

57. Hic mulier, or, the man-woman, London 1620. A4<sup>r</sup>; Muld sacke, London 1620, C4<sup>r</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>.

58. Apart from the pseudonym, there is internal evidence to suggest that Wreittoun printed from the first edition. See chapter 6.4 for a discussion of

Wreittoun's copytext.

59. W. Beattie, A Hand-list of works from the press of John Wreittoun at Edinburgh 1624-c.1639, Edinburgh 1939-40, pp.92-3.

60. George P. Johnston, ed., The confession and conversion of my Lady C. of L., Edinburgh 1924.

61. Arber, iii.685. The three ballads were 'The fair maide of Bristowe', 'The two lovers wo[o]eing in proverbs', and 'Simplicity is turned good scholler' (Arber iv.101).

62. Some uncharacteristic books printed for Francis Grove are Thomas Kyd, Spanish Tragedy, London 1633, Ovids tristia containinge five bookes of mournfull elegies, [T. and R. Cotes] f. F. Grove, London 1633. Ovids tristia was entered to Grove on 20 October 1632 (Arber, iv.287), and was reprinted for Grove in 1637.

63. Many of Martin Parker's ballads were sold by or printed for Francis Grove, see STC entries for Martin Parker *passim*.

The historie of friar Rush, London 1626, E. Alde, solde by F. Grove; The famous historie of fryer Bacon, Also the manner of his death G.P[urslowe] f. F. Grove, London 1627. For John Spencer's The History of the mad pranches of Robin Good-fellow and Loves Garland see Arber, iv.477.

64. It is interesting to note that the preface to The good womans champion (Wing A 9a), which was printed for Francis Grove [?1650], includes a reference to books on women, two of which at least were sold by Grove. The books mentioned are The bear-baiting of women (probably The arraignment of women), The parliament of women (Wing P 506), The woman-hater, The goosips meeting (Wing G 1317), The crabtree lecture (cf. John Taylor, Divers crabtree lectures, STC 23747), Vinegar and mustard (Wing W 175). The arraignment of women and The parliament of women were sold by Francis Grove.

I am grateful to Mr Paul Morgan for referring me to The good womans champion.

65. Arber, iv.308. The titles are 'The knott of fooles' (STC 3718), 'Loves garland' (STC 16856), 'History of Doctor Faustus in verse', 'The Gentle Craft in verse', 'Ovids de tristibus in English verse' (STC 18979), 'Mistris Money', 'The arraignment of Weomen' (STC 23533), 'Robin Hood', 'The king and a poore northerne Man' (STC 19248), 'ffrier Bacon in prose' (STC 1183), 'Robin Good-fellow' (STC 12016), 'Cupids schoole of complements in two parts, with the praise of Love' (STC 6123), and 'Garland of withered Roses'.

66. Ovids tristia containinge five bookes of mournfull elegies was entered to Francis Grove on 20 October 1632. Grove then assigned it to Richard Cotes on 9 November 1633. The imprint in the first and second edition reads 'for F. Grove'. STC adds that they were printed by T. and R. Cotes. Martin Parker's The king and a poore northerne man (STC 19248) bears the imprint 'T. Cotes f. F. Grove', the second edition, in 1640, reads 'T. Cotes, sold by F. Grove' (STC 19249). Robin Good-fellow his mad pranches bears the imprint 'T. Cotes, sold by F. Grove' (STC 12017). I am indebted to Ms Robin Myers, honorary archivist of the Stationers' Company, who informed me that this was normal practice, and that the Cotes and Grove families were closely related.

67. The type, however, was re-set, the editions printed by Thomas and Richard Cotes number 63 pages of text instead of 64 (See 6.4).

68. Arber, iv.182, 242.

69. Plomer, Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers [...] 1641-1667, p.53. Richard Cotes died in January of 1653. Michael Sparke in turn bequeathed his copyright in Wood's Physical Secrets to Elinor Cotes, the widow of Richard Cotes, when he died. Elinor Cotes succeeded to her husband's business in 1653. The entry to Elinor Cotes was made on 25 January 1656 (Eyre & Rivington, ii.26).

70. Eyre and Rivington, 1.257, 266.

71. W.C. Hazlitt, Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature, 1893-1903, London 1903, v.374.

72. *Ibid.*, p.589.

73. Richard Cotes had originally acquired Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough from the widow of Isaac Jaggard (Arber iv, 182). Elinor Cotes printed an edition in 1655, 'to be sold by Francis Grove' (Wing A 472). Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough is printed for W. Thackeray in [?1667] (Wing A 473); in 1683 for a syndicate consisting of J. Wright, J. Clark, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger (Wing A 474). The famous historie of fryer Bacon was part of the book transferral from Francis Grove to Richard Cotes on 9 November 1633 (Arber, iv.308). It was printed by Elinor Cotes for Francis Grove in 1661 (Wing F 371) and another edition was sold by Thomas Passinger in 1666 (Wing F 372). She also printed in 1664 The history of Doctor John Faustus, another item acquired by the Cotes brothers in 1633. The 1664 edition was to be sold by Charles Tyas, Passinger's master and predecessor at the sign of the Three Bibles (Wing H 2117). An earlier edition (Wing H 2116) was printed by Ellen Cotes for Francis Grove.

74. Edward Arber, The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D., London 1903-06, i.480. Ovid's Tristia is advertised as the fifth edition. Büchler's Thesaurus was first published in England in 1624. STC lists five editions of the work.

Thomas Passinger served the office of Churchwarden of St. Magnus the Martyr in 1681-2. London Bridge lay within the parish bounds of St. Magnus the Martyr. Passinger's name occurs frequently in the Churchwardens' books of accounts. He was buried in the church of St. Magnus in June 1688. (H.R. Plomer, 'The Church of St. Magnus and the booksellers', The Library, 3rd Series 2 (1911), pp. 384-95).

75. Eyre and Rivington, iii.50-3.

76. *Ibid.*, iii.476-77.

77. *Ibid.*, iii.411. The first edition of the Third Part, an anonymous continuation of Bunyan's Pilgrim's progress, was printed in 1693 (Wing B 5583). Back and Blare continued editions of the third part of The Pilgrim's progress, but Deacon's name is dropped from all subsequent editions.

78. *Ibid.*, iii.317, Wing M 79.

79. *Ibid.*, iii.110-1. Arcandum is described by B. Capp, English Almanacs 1500-1800, Ithaca, N.Y. 1979, p.31, as one of the books 'offering advice and rules for divination [...] which aimed at the bottom end of the market for almanacs [...] and enjoyed widespread popularity'.

80. Wright, Middle-class Culture in Elizabethan England, p.88.

81. *Ibid.*, p.248.

82. *Ibid.*, p.88. This edition of The renowned history of the seven champions of christendom bears no date, like many of B. Deacon's editions, but must have been printed in or after 1704. The arraignment of women is featured in the advertisement with 'The second Part, containing merry dialogues, witty poems, and jovial songs'. This second part is not yet included in the first edition printed for B. Deacon, but appears in the second edition, printed for B. Deacon in 1704.

83. J[ohn]. W[ade]., Vinegar and mustard, had been printed earlier in 1673, but is probably also mentioned in the Preface to The good womans champion, see note 64 above.

The first three out of the seven 'Wormwood lectures for every day in the week' are reproduced in the 'second part' of The arraignment of women (A2<sup>r</sup>-A7<sup>r</sup> in Vinegar and mustard).

84. 1707 edition of The arraignment of women, ESTC t 135498, A8<sup>v</sup>:

'1. The Dutch Fortune-Teller, in Folio; wherein is resolved Thirty-Six Questions. Price 1.s.6.d.

2. The English Fortune-Teller, in Quarto; being lately reprinted, with additions. Price 1.s.6.d.
3. The famous History of Tom of Lincoln; or, The Red-Rose Knight. Price 6.d.
4. Hocus-Pocus Junior; or, The Whole Art of Juggling discover'd: To which is added, The Trick of Changing a Card into a Live Bird. Price 6.d.
5. A Book of knowledge, in four Parts: shewing the Nature of Astrology; the Wheel of Fortune; a Treatise of Physick by the Signs and Planets: To which is added; The Com-pleat Gardener; or, The Country-Man's Guide to good Husbandry. Price Bound 1.s.
6. Arcandum; or, The Famous Astrologian. Price 1.s.
7. Markham's Faithfull Farrier; Wherein is laid open the Depth of his Skill, and approved Secrets of Horsemanship. Price 6.d.
8. The Famous History of Sir Bevis of South-ampton, with an Account of his Fights with Gyants, Monsters, Wild Beasts; his con-quer- ing Kings and Kingdoms. Price 6.d.
9. The Golden Garland of Princely Delight; wherein is contained. The History of many of the Kings, Queens, Princes, Lords, Ladies, Knights and Gentlewomen of this Kingdom. Pr. 6.d.'

Arcandum, Markham's Faithfull farrier, Hocus Pocus jun<sup>r</sup> and The history of Sir Bevis of Southampton had been acquired by J. Deacon from the estate of Thomas Vere on 7 August 1682 (Eyre and Rivington, iii.110-11). The English fortune-Teller had been acquired by a syndicate consisting of Philip Brooksley, Jonah Deacon, Josia Blare and John Back on 10 May 1692 (Eyre and Rivington, iii.401). The history of Tom a Lincoln was acquired by Deacon and Wilde on 30 April 1698 (Eyre and Rivington, iii.476). An edition of Sir Bevis had been printed for W. Thackeray and J. Deacon in 1689 (Wing F 359). Jonah Deacon had already acquired a copy of the romance Sir Bevis of Southampton in 1682, from the estate of Thomas Vere (Eyre and Rivington, iii.111).

The 1707 edition also features three illustrations on the verso of A1. Although the preliminaries are not paginated, the text begins on p.17 (A9<sup>r</sup>). A2<sup>r</sup> features title and imprint. The illustrations on A1<sup>v</sup> therefore probably belong to this edition. The BL holds the only copy of this edition. There are three illustrations, the third illustration, bottom corner left, bears the signature 'S.N. sculp:', the initials standing for Sutton Nichols (see bibliographical descriptions R).

The imprint underneath the illustration reads: 'Printed for B. Deacon at the Angel in Gilt-spur=street near Newgate'.

85. H.R. Plomer, Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668-1725 (ed. A. Esdaile), London 1968 (1922), pp.220-1. Hereafter referred to as Plomer, Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers [...] 1668-1725.

86. C. Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', in F. Bowers, ed., Studies in Bibliography, Charlottesville, Va. 1953, v.176.

87. Negus's list was intended to acquaint one of the Secretaries of State under George I, Lord Townshend, with the political allegiances of the printers of London. He included himself in the category of those 'known to be well affected to King George'. The letter and the list which Negus sent to Lord Townshend is reprinted in John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, New York 1966, 1.288-312. Hereafter referred to as Nichols, Literary Anecdotes.

In his letter, Negus complained of the dissemination of seditious literature by means of the London presses. He pitifully directs Townshend's attention to this danger from the point of view of the loyal printer: 'Your Lordship may not be altogether insensible of the hardships and the

temptations a young beginner in Printing may meet with from the disaffected; and how hard it is for such men to subsist, whose natural inclinations are to be truly loyal and truly honest, and at the same time want employ; while the disaffected printers flourish, and have more than they can dispatch'.

88. Ibid., i.288-312.

Plomer, Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers [...] 1668-1725, p.220, writes that Norris retired from active business in 1723. Negus's inclusion of a Norris of Little Britain in his 1724 list would therefore not seem to tally with the fact of Norris's retirement. But Thomas Norris is the only printer of that name in London at the time. Moreover, the fact that Edward Midwinter, the son-in-law of Thomas Norris is also included in the list as a 'High-Flyer', makes it likely that the Norris of 'Little Britain' is Thomas Norris.

89. W. Roberts, The Earlier History of English Bookselling, London 1892, p.134, writes that Norris's publications 'are, of course, of the usual duodecimo form, and catchpenny titles'. Midwinter, who became related to Norris by marriage in 1720, printed and published mostly ballads and chapbooks, like his father-in-law.

90. N. Hodgson and C. Blagden, The Notebooks of Thomas Bennett and Henry Clements (1686-1719), Oxford 1956, Appendix 13: The Castle, or New Conger, Appendix 14: The Printing Conger. James Hodges became a member of the Castle or New Conger in 1742 (p.92). Charles Hitch succeeded his father-in-law Arthur Bettesworth in 1739 (Appendix 13).

91. Plomer, Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers [...] 1668-1725, pp.127-8.

92. Hodgson and Blagden, The Notebooks of Thomas Bennett and Henry Clements, p.83: The normal practice of a Conger operation was 'for one of the members to offer the Conger a proportion of the printing of a book in which he held the whole copyright; even if he held the copyright jointly with other booksellers who were not members, he could often arrange for a pooling of part of an impression'.

93. Plomer, Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers [...] 1668-1725, p.34.

94. Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, iii.406.

95. Roberts, The Earlier History of English Bookselling, p.35.

96. H.R. Plomer, 'The Booksellers of London Bridge', The Library, 2nd Series 4v (1903), p.40.

97. This comment on the Recht-banck occurs in Van der Boxe's Preface to the Reader in Der Vrouwen Parlement [The Parliament of Women] (second edition, augmented and improved; n.d./p/). A2<sup>r</sup> preface 'Beminde Leser' ['Dear Reader'], signed 'W.C'.

98. Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, iii.835.

99. The imprint of this double issue reads 'London: Reprinted 1807, by J. Smeeton, 148, St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, and sold by M. Stace, Middle Scotland Yard, Whitehall'. This address is not recorded in Ian Maxted, The London Book Trades 1775-1800, London 1977. The addresses he records for Stace are Haymarket 1793; 39, Princess Street, 1794-1802; Villiers Street, Strand, 1812; 12, Little Queen Street, 1814.

100. See chapter 2, n.143.

101. Grosart, Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, p.xiv.

102. Ibid., p.xxxvi.

103. Ibid., p.xxix.

104. Ibid., p.xxx.

105. J.A. Gruys and C. de Wolf, Typographi & Bibliopolae Neerlandici usque ad annum MDCC. Thesaurus, Nieuwkoop 1980, p.14.

106. 'Now translated into our Dutch language for the first time, because of the historical tales and for amusement's sake, from the English printed copy of that farcical writer M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Swetnam'.

107. C.W. Schoneveld, Intertraffic of the Mind, Leyden 1983. Checklist of translations, respectively nrs. 48 (STC 131); 56 (Wing A 3123); 121 (STC 3648); 212 (STC 6616); 405 and 406 (STC 17963); 512 (STC 20986); 529 (STC 21383) and 561 (STC 22706). Schoneveld also listed a number of translated English works published by Van der Boxe: 44, 63, 496, 497, 536.

108. STC 131 for example was reprinted in 1613, 1614, 1615 and 1621; STC 22706 was reprinted in 1592 (three editions), 1593, 1595[?], 1609, 1624, 1630, 1632 and 1640.

109. Schoneveld, Intertraffic of the Mind, p.122, states that there was a great demand for religious works in the Dutch republic, but that the supply of works of practical piety by Dutch divines was inadequate. Translations of English works helped to remedy this need.

110. DNB xiv.367-7 (T. Cooper); DNB i.102 (A.B. Grosart); DNB liii.48-9 (T. Cooper); DNB xxxvii.12 (G. Goodwin).

111. It is (if you wish to know) it is Willem Christiaens

The very same Man, who found many an English book

Lying forgotten in some dark old corner

And brought it to light.

112. although you may not like it,  
He translated for us the Deeg'lijckheyt des Tijts,  
Den Politijcken Dief: with it Den Witten Duyvel,  
In which we can read, how he robs our soul  
Of the best it has: After that Het Goud' Trompet  
Which reached our ear through his Pen,  
He also gave us Practijcke van Bekeering,  
To the edification, use, instruction  
And the good of man's soul: Also 't Nieuws van Over-al,  
Which shows us the diversity of foreign lands  
Yes, it is the same man, who translated

This Recht-banck's sentence out of the English language (aa4<sup>v</sup>).

Some of these translations occur in Schoneveld's checklist; Deeg'lijckheyt des Tijts [512]; Den Witten Duyvel [48]; Het Goud' Trompet [56]; and Practijcke van Bekeeringh [212]. See also M. Buïsmann, Populaire Prozaschrijvers van 1600-1815, Amsterdam 1960; 464: Den Politijcken Dief. Uyt het Francoys in 't Neerlandts vert., door H.A.B. Leyden W. Christiaens, 1635.

113. See A.M. Ledeboer, Alfabetische Lijst der Boekdrukkers, Boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Noord-Nederland, Utrecht 1876, p.24; L.D. Petit, Bibliotheek van Nederlandse Pamfletten, 1500-1648, Leyden 1882-1934, i., nr. 2135; W.P.C. Knuttel, Catalogus van de Pamflettenverzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 1978, nrs. 4656, 4728, for other translations by Van der Boxe.

114. Knuttel, Tiele, Petit and Van der Wulp (see the bibliography under III.1) have also been consulted for this list. STC and Wing references are to first editions.

115. In his oration, Simon Gakel commemorated the capture of the city of Breisach in Germany by the Protestant Duke of Sachsen-Weimar. The capture of Breisach made a tremendous impression on both friend and foe of the Protestant cause, see Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Leipzig 1875-1912, ii.449.

116. The discussion of Van der Boxe's activities as a printer of Puritan works is indebted to Harry Carter's 'Archbishop Laud and scandalous books from Holland' in Studia Bibliographica in Honorem Herman De La Fontaine Verwey, Amsterdam 1966, pp.43-55, *passim*.

For Van der Boxe's association with Thomas Crafford over the printing of an edition of the Bible see I.H. van Eeghen, De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725, Amsterdam 1965, iv.101.

117. Schoneveld, Intertraffic of the Mind, p.246. Schoneveld, p.123, writes that the emphasis on religious works is characteristic of all translators of the period.

118. The first extant edition of Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament appeared in 1650. Leyden University Library holds an undated copy of Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament, which is advertised as the 'second edition, augmented and improved' (UBL 1211 A 12). The Royal Library holds another issue of the first edition, issued with a new title-page and with the addition of two pages, which came out in 1650 (KB 521 E 14).

In 1649, when Van der Boxe brought out a third edition of the Recht-banck, he advertised his intention to publish 'Het Parlament van Vrouwen' on D4<sup>v</sup> of the third part of the Recht-banck: 'Ick ben oock van meeninghe U.L. mede te deelen/ Het Parlement van Vrouwen' ['I also intend to give you, The Parliament of Women'], which suggests that Van der Boxe had already translated, and was about to print, Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament. Van der Boxe translated from The parliament of women. With the merry lawes by them newly enacted, London 1640.

119. 'Ondertusschen ver Stout mijn ghemoet, om u.l. voort-aen noch meer al-sulcke geneuchlijkcke schriften te vertalen' ['Meanwhile I shall take the liberty to translate more of these pleasant works for you'], Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament, Preface to the Reader signed 'W.C.', second, undated edition, A2<sup>r</sup>.

120. If women complain: 'Maer, sult ghy seggen, hoe sullen wy kunnen laghen, daer wij soo uyt-gemaect ende mispresen worden? Ick sal hierop [...] antwoorden, of de dingen die in de Recht-banck geseght worden, zijn waer, ofte niet. Zijne waer, soo kunt ghy immers (hope ick) belaghen uwe vuylicheden, ende daer uyt beternisse leeren; zijne niet waer, belacht all de lasteringen'. ['But, you will say, how can we laugh, seeing we are so insulted and discredited? To this [...] I will answer, that the things which are said in the Recht-banck are either true or false. If they are true, you will (I hope) laugh at your vices, and learn to better yourselves: if they are false, laugh at these slanders']. He uses a similar argument with reference to Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament (A2<sup>r</sup>). Although this may sound like a rather lame argument, it does seem to make clear that Van der Boxe did not expect his readers to take offence.

121. Copies of these works are in the Royal Library, pressmarks: KB 30 E 24(1); KB 504 B 214; KB 30 E 24(2); KB 503 E 69 (1649); KB 521 E 15; KB 521 E 14.

122. Pierre de la Primaudaye, The french academie, London 1586. Van der Boxe translated chapters 45-52 of The french academie.

123. Van der Boxe writes in the Epistle to the Reader that he has taken Houwelijcschen Staet from a larger work (\*5<sup>v</sup>). The English translation of De la Primaudaye's work is described as a 'French Treatise of Morall Philosophy' (\*2<sup>r</sup>), and it also mentions Pierre de la Primaudaye as the original author.

124. (\*6)<sup>r</sup>. Festus Hommius (1576-1642) was preacher at Leyden from 1602, and a supporter of Gomarus. Ludovicus de Dieu (1590-1642) was preached in Leyden from 1619. See Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek, eds. P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok, Leyden 1911-1937, x.382, viii.396.

125. The full title of this work is Der Vrouwen Schildt: ofte Mondstoppinghe van alle Lasteraars dewelcke sich durven vermeten te seggen en te schrijven. Dat de Vrouwen geen Menschen en sijn ['The Women's Buckler: or a gag for all calumniators who are so impudent as to say and write, that women are not human beings']. The assertion 'Dat de Vrouwen geen Menschen en sijn' is reminiscent of an attack on women which is added to the 1687 edition of the Recht-banck (see note 153 below). The first part of this work (A6<sup>r</sup>-B2<sup>v</sup>) is taken from Houwelijcschen Staet (A4<sup>v</sup>-B6<sup>r</sup>), although there are

numerous omissions from the original text. Der Vrouwen Schildt itself takes up sheets A-E2<sup>v</sup>; E4<sup>r</sup>-E5<sup>v</sup> concern the Houwelicke Gheboden, which are advertised as 'never before printed in Dutch'. This part of the work is dated 'Leyden, 26 September 1644' (E5<sup>v</sup>).

126. 'Women (they say) are necessary evils. And why? 1' Academie Françoise, and the translated Recht-banck say so' (D3<sup>r</sup>).

See also chapter 1, n.32.

127. José Bouman, Nederlandse Gelegheidsgedichten in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 1982, p.147.

128. Van der Boxe used sheets A2<sup>r</sup>-C4<sup>v</sup> of Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament for Der Vrouwen Advocaet, but reprinted D1<sup>rv</sup>-D2<sup>r</sup> from the original. On D2<sup>rv</sup> the sixteen articles of Der Vrouwen Advocaet are printed. On D3<sup>rv</sup> one of the three poems added to Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament is reprinted. The title-page of Der Vrouwen Advocaet notes it is sent to Van der Boxe to be added to Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament ['over gesonden aen Willem Christiaens Vander Boxe, Boekdrukker tot Leyden: Om Gedrukt ende gevoeght te mogen worden aen 't Vrouwen Parlament'], probably an elegant solution to the problem of how to sell left-over sheets from an earlier edition.

129. Freely translated: 'rogue', 'good-for-nothing', 'scoundrel', 'ruffian', 'villain' and 'fool'. Swetnam's reply: 'It is beyond repair'.

130. A Henr. Duimontius was one of the authors of a poem and an epitaph to the funeral ode on the death of Festus Hommius. (Bouman, Nederlandse Gelegheidsgedichten, nr. 268), and he also contributed a poem to Houwelijcschen Staet, (\*7<sup>rv</sup>).

131. E.F. Kossman, De Boekverkoopers notarissen en cramers op het Binnehof, The Hague 1932, p.22, 182, writes that Burchhoorn was born around 1600, probably in Leyden, where in 1625 he married Petronella Joris from Delft. He printed in Leyden until 1632 when he moved to The Hague. He printed at his premises on the Spuy and in 1654 rented a shop in the Great Hall of the Binnenhof in The Hague. He died in 1655.

132. Ibid., p.182. A.C. Kruseman, Aanteekeningen betreffende den Boekhandel van Noord-Nederland in de 17e en 18e eeuw, Amsterdam 1893, p.538, writes that Burchhoorn's editions were issued with the imprint: 'Uytgevormt in de Poetische Druckerye van Isaac Burchhoorn' ['Produced in the poet's printing shop of Isaac Burchhoorn'].

133. This Author, with good Reason,  
Reveals the vanities of Women:  
And their Unconstancy  
He has explained to us very well,  
They blame him for this  
Indoors and abroad  
And they call this fellow  
Woman-hater in England.

134. A likely date for the second edition is 1645, the year when Van der Boxe brought out Der Vrouwen Schildt, which refers to the Recht-banck. Although the 1649 edition is referred to as the third edition in the imprint, Van der Boxe also notes in the Epistle to the Reader (A2<sup>r</sup>) in the 1650 edition of Der Engelsche Vrouwen Parlament, that he had printed the Recht-banck for the fourth time: 'Als ick nu onlanghs (voor de vierde maal) hebbe herdrukt mijn vertaalde RECHT-BANCK; ende deselfde vermeerderd (achtereenvolgens mijn eerste Belofte) met een Derde -Deel' ['As I have recently reprinted (for the fourth time) my translated RECHT-BANCK; adding to it a Third Part (according to my earlier promise)']. He also notes that the Recht-banck was successful: 'bevindende dat mijn arbeyt U.L. is aengenaem' ['finding that my labours are favourably received by you'].

135. 'Desen derden Druck is verhandelt in drye besondere Deelen. Oock veel



verbetert: Ende het laetste Deel is noyt voor desen in 't Nederduyts gedruckt' ['This third edition is sold in three separate parts. Also largely corrected: And the last part has never before been printed in Dutch'. (sig.\*1<sup>r</sup>).

136. 'Recht-banck tegen de Regiersuchtige Vrouwen. Seer aerdich ende kortswijlich beschreven door den kluchtigen Poët Joseph Swetnam, Edelman' ['The Arraignment of Tyrannical Women. Pithily and amusingly described by the farcical writer Joseph Swetnam, Nobleman'] He was also advertised as 'nobleman' on the previous two title-pages of this edition.

137. 'I charge them now but with a bul-rush in respect of a second booke, which is almost ready' (A4<sup>r</sup>).

138. Rachel Speght, Mortalities memorandum, B3<sup>v</sup>-B4<sup>r</sup>.

139. 'Des Autheurs voor-reden, Met ijver geschreven, Niet aen de vernufste Klercken, maer aen den gemeenen hoop der Suyse-bollige jongelingen' ['The Author's preface, Diligently written, Not to the wisest Clarks, but to the ordinary sort of Giddy-headed young men'], \*2<sup>r</sup>. The fact that Van der Boxe took one of the existing prefaces from the Recht-banck, is a likely indication that there was no second book: there was bound to have been a preface then from which Van der Boxe could have translated.

It is probably a coincidence that the annotations on the title-page of the 1622 edition of The arraignment of women (see bibliographical descriptions F) include the phrase 'Adam, Samsonem, Loth, Davidem, & Salomonem, Foemina deceptit, quis modo tutus erit?', which also occurs on B3<sup>v</sup> of this edition of the Recht-banck. It was a commonplace, and also occurs, in a slightly altered form, in Pyrrye's The praise and dispraise of women, B2<sup>v</sup>: 'Both David, Lot, Salomon, / I strike cleane out of minde: / With thousandes more that I could name / deceived by woman kinde'.

140. The schoole of defence, Ff2<sup>r</sup>.

141. M.Mat. encourages Van der Boxe to print Der Vrouwen Parlament in order to stop the mouths of angry women:

Repje, dat je tot haer sendt,  
(Om al dese korszal-koppen  
d'Opgesparde Mnyl te stoppen)  
Meed' het Vrouwen Parlement (A2<sup>v</sup>).

[Make haste to send them  
(To stop the gaping mouths  
Of all these forward shrews)  
The Parliament of Women.]

142. 'Wat is een Vrouwe?' en 'Wat is een goede Vrouwe' are respectively 'A very Woman' and 'A good Woman' in Sir Thomas Overbury his wife, London 1616 (ninth impression), C2<sup>r</sup>-C4<sup>r</sup> and C1<sup>r</sup>-C2<sup>r</sup>. The other two poems, 'Wat is een quade Vrouwe' and 'Beschrijvinge van een Eerbare Vrouwe', are traditional lists of epithets in praise or dispraise of women, cf. Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman, p.16.

143. I pray you, women, do not take offence,  
Because this man proclaims your bad qualities to all;  
Do not fret, beacuse however bad you are,  
Not a single man would hate you the more for it.

144. Gruys and De Wolf, Typographi & Bibliopolae Neerlandici, p.14. His address is 'on the River over against the Corn Market in the Lily under the Thorns'.

145. Bouman's woodcut differs in minute details (but these are not due to deterioration of the original Van der Boxe woodcut, it is a different cut), most notably the house in the background. 'Rofiaen' is changed into 'Dief' ['Thief']. The Bouman woodcut is executed in a slightly rougher fashion than

the Van der Boxe woodcut.

146. STCN includes three titles of (translations of) English books printed by Bouman:

W. Lithgow, 19. jarige lantreyse uyt Schotland, 1652 (STC 15710); Joseph Swetnam, Recht-banck, 1662 (STC 23533); The English schole-master, 1663. The English scholemaster is a Dutch-English dictionary, first published in 1646.

Schoneveld's check-list includes the following titles:

Henry Carthwait, Evangelische harmonie, 1648 (STC 11633); Lewis Bayley, De practycke ofte oeffeninghe der Godtzaligheydt, 1652, 1658 (STC 1601.5); Pyramus en Thisbe, 1657 (STC 22302); Iemant en niemant, 1661 (STC 18597); Joseph Swetnam, Recht-banck, 1662 (STC 23533); Don Jeronimo maarschalk van Spanjens, 1665 (STC 15085-6).

STC and Wing references are to first editions.

147. Gruys and De Wolf, Typographi & Bibliopolae Neerlandici, p.40.

148. Schoneveld's checklist includes the following entries:

Francis Godwin, De man in de maan, pt. 1, 2, 1663, 1670 (STC 11943); Lewis Bayley, De practycke ofte oeffeninghe der Godtzaligheydt, 1664, 1667, 1669 (STC 1601.5); Alexander Ross, 's Werelds Godadiensten, 1665, 1666 (Wing R 1971); Joseph Swetnam, Recht-banck, 1670 (STC 23533); Thomas Tymme, Een silvere poot-clock, 1670 (STC 24421); John Wall, Niemandt dan Christus, 1677 (Wing W 469); Iemant en niemant, 1678 (STC 18597); Don Jeronimo maarschalk van Spanjens, 1678 (STC 15085-6); Pyramus en Thisbe, 1679 (STC 22302).

149. The titles are in the STCN list:

|   | Bouman    | De Groot  |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| <u>Sofompnaes of Josef aan het hof</u>                  | 1665      | 1678      |
| <u>Klucht van Jan Soetekauw</u>                         | 1661      | 1664      |
| <u>Geus lietboek</u>                                    | 1656/1661 | 1671      |
| <u>Josef in Egypte</u>                                  | 1665      | 1678      |
| <u>Josef in Dothan</u>                                  | 1665      | 1678      |
| <u>Zinnebeelden of Adams Appel</u>                      | 1646      | 1663/1669 |
| In Schoneveld's list:                                   |           |           |
| <u>De practycke ofte oeffeninghe der Godtzaligheydt</u> | 1652/1658 | 1664/7/9  |
|   |           | 1676      |
| <u>Recht-banck</u>                                      | 1662      | 1670      |
| <u>Don Jeronimo maarschalk van Spanjens</u>             | 1665      | 1678      |
| <u>Pyramus &amp; Thisbe</u>                             | 1657      | 1679      |

150. Schoneveld, Intertraffic of the Mind, p.238. Gruys and De Wolf, Typographi & Bibliopolae Neerlandici, p.73. Van Poolsum's dates in F.G. Waller, Biografisch Woordenboek van Noord-Nederlandse Graveurs, The Hague 1938, are given as 1670-1691. In 1670 he printed at his premises 'bij de [near the] Martens-Brug', from 1675 to 1688 'Op de Plaets recht over 't Stadhuis' ['right opposite the Town-Hall'], where he printed his edition of the 'Recht-banck'.

151. Schoneveld lists the following works:

John Bunyan, Het leven en sterven van Mr. Quaadt, 1685 (Wing B 5550); Lewis Bayley, De practijcke ofte oeffeninghe van Godtzaligheydt, 1686 (STC 1601.5); Joseph Swetnam, Recht-banck, 1687 (STC 23533); John Bunyan, Eens Christens reyse, 1688 (Wing B 5557); Richard Baxter, Het huysboek der armen, 1689 (Wing B 1352).

152. The 'Toegift' is a conventional apology to the good sort of women, not to take to heart The arraignment of women, as it is not intended for them, but for the bad sort of women:

Ghy Vrouwen goet van Aerdt, die dese RECHT-BANCK Lesen,  
En treckt het u niet aen, noch wilt er niet voor vreezen,  
U Lof verdient het niet, bij dees' te zijn gestelt,

Want 't is alleen gemaect, voor die haer Man staegh quelt.

[You women who are good, when you read this ARAIGNMENT,  
Do not take it to heart, neither be afraid,  
It is not your reputation which is attacked here,  
It is only meant for those who torment their husbands.]

In all there are seven stanzas.

153. Maclean, Woman Triumphant, p.2, n.3. Johann Peter Lotz was a physician who published, in 1630, Gynaecologia; id est: de nobilitate et perfectione sexus foeminei. Lotz described this dialogue as: 'dialogus vernaculus [...] interlocutoribus Fr. Andrea, mulierum osore, Ord. Bened. et Petr. Eugenio, Soc. Jesu defensore; in quo multa in insontem sexum e sacris literis detorquentur', Maclean, op.cit., pp.30-1.

These disputations were popular in the Renaissance, even though they were still scholastic in nature. See Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman, pp. 6-25.

154. Ledeboer, Alfabetische Lijst der Boekdrukkers, Boekverkoopers en Uitgevers in Noord-Nederland, p.51.

155. The phrases 'Doegeniet' and 'tis nu al gedaen' are identical in both the Van Egmont and the Bouman woodcuts. The De Groot woodcut had 'Doegenit' and 'tis nu al gedan'.

156. Waller, Biografisch Woordenboek van Noord-Nederlandse Graveurs, p.473. Isaak van der Putte, Amsterdam 1711-48, in 1711 'Op de ['on the'] N.Z. Voorburgwal', from 1728 to 1748 'Op 't Water in de Lootsman' ['On the Water in the Pilot']].

The British Library holds a copy of this edition by Van der Putte which it tentatively dates around 1645 (pressmark 8415.e.1).

157. M.M. Kleerkooper & W.P. van Stockum, De Boekhandel te Amsterdam, The Hague 1914-16, 1.242.

158. Van der Putte for example omits the rhyme beginning with the line 'he who useth troth to tell' in the English text (F4<sup>v</sup>). He also omits part of the story of Theodora (from the sentence 'She died at the age of forty') and continues to omit all the text up to the example of Plato and Archenasse (D3<sup>r</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>). He does not spell Swetnam's name 'Zwetnam', as Van Poolsum and Van Egmont had done.

159. W.T. Lowndes, The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature, ed. H.G. Bohn, Detroit 1967, vi.2556. Further references are to Lowndes, Bibliographer's Manual. For Hazlitt see notes 71 and 72 to the present chapter. Anthony Wood's copy of the 1637 edition is in the Bodleian Library, Wood 654 (see bibliographical description J). For Thomas Jolley see bibliographical description P.

1. Swetnam the woman-hater, ed. Crandall, V.ii.314-19.
2. In the letter of administration of 1626 he is referred to as 'nuper de civit[ate] Bristol'. See chapter 2.1.1.
3. George Whetstone's A heptameron of civill discourses was re-issued under the title Aurelia in 1593.
4. Although only the dates of first publication are here given, all but The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius and Euphues: The anatomy of wit were reprinted only once, and in the sixteenth century, respectively in 1586, 1576, and in 1593. The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius was very popular in the sixteenth century, and ran to fifteen editions but was not reprinted in the early seventeenth century.
5. Sheperd, ed., The Women's Sharp Revenge, p.118, notes that Thomas Coryate wrote under the pseudonym of Thomas Telltroth, 'which Swetnam borrowed'. Coryates crudities was first printed in 1611. If Swetnam used the pseudonym 'Thomas Telltroth' in conscious imitation of Thomas Coryate, The arraignment of women was written after 1611.
- Neither STC, Halkett & Laing (ed. John Horden), nor the Glasgow University edition of Coryats crudities (1905), however, refer to Thomas Telltroth as a pseudonym for Thomas Coryate. Ben Jonson in his acrostic commendatory poem to Coryats crudities addresses Coryate as 'Honest Tom Telltroth' (B4<sup>r</sup>), but this does not seem to have been a pseudonym for Coryate.
6. If the compositor more or less followed the punctuation as he found it in the manuscript of The arraignment of women, these epithets would transfer to the author. In any case, whether the punctuation of A follows the manuscript or is the result of compositorial practice, the first edition appears to have been printed without great care.
7. Vivian Salmon, 'Early seventeenth-century punctuation as a guide to sentence structure', RES (N.S.) (1962) 52, p.354, argues that this may have been a standard practice.
8. Whether the compositor of B corrected independently as he cast off his copy or worked from a copy of A previously corrected by a proofreader is a matter of speculation, but it would seem more likely that he worked from an already corrected copy of A.
9. The compositor of B also supplied a number of question-marks after ordinary questions, which in the text of A had not been provided, and deleted a few question-marks where they were inappropriate. These changes also show that the text of B, although a page by page reprint of A (with the exception of the preliminaries), was prepared with greater care than the text of the first edition. The difference between A and B would seem to reflect the difference in quality between Alde's and Purslowe's printing-houses.
- Two other books printed by Purslowe in 1615 have been compared with earlier editions to determine the punctuation policy of Purslowe's printing-house. The books sampled are:  
 Leonard Wright, A summons for sleepers, London 1596, printed by Adam Islip, and London 1615, printed by George Purslowe.  
 Robert Greene, Philomela, London 1592, printed by R. B[ourne] and E. A[lde], and London 1615, printed by George Purslowe.
- In both cases, the Purslowe editions revised the punctuation and re-arranged paragraph structure, though not as heavily as in The arraignment of women, which obviously required more tidying up.
10. The pronoun 'them' is retained in C, but emended in D and all subsequent editions.
11. See F. Th. Visser, An Historical Syntax of the English Language, Leyden 1963-1973, 1, §73: 'This pleonastic insertion of a pronoun after a

noun in the subject-relation was originally normal idiom'.

12. OED, 1.53, notes that 'acception is frequently found for exception with which it was phonetically confounded'.

13. Variant spellings of 'Semiramis' in print would range from 'Semyramis' to 'Semiramys' or 'Semyrames'. 'Simerryms' is an unusual spelling and clearly recognized as such by the compositor of B.

14. The 1634 and subsequent editions substitute 'Circe' for 'Xerxes'.

15. See bibliographical description of A for quasi-facsimile transcriptions of the title-pages of the Folger and Bodleian Library copies of A.

16. There is perhaps no reason to suppose that only sheets A, B and G were corrected while they were being printed off, and the other sheets neglected.

17. The Edinburgh edition of The arraignment of women prints 'housholders jarres' on D4<sup>r</sup> (G3<sup>r</sup>), but otherwise follows the variants in the Folger copy.

18. E.g. A2<sup>v</sup>: 'Jewels are all precious but yet they are not all of one price, nor all of one vertue: golde is not all of one picture, no more are women all of one disposition: women are all necessary evils'. The colons in the Folger copy are commas in the Bodleian copy.

The compositor of B did not work from a copy of A which had corrected sheets, since the punctuation of B varies from the punctuation of both A1 and A2.

19. 'Cooking' is listed in OED as a sixteenth-century spelling variant of 'Cucking' (11.1235); 'discant' (not 'discand', as in the Bodleian copy) is listed as a spelling variant of 'descant' current in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries (111.234); here the corrector must have preferred the more regular spelling of the word; while 'varmin' is listed as a dialectal variant of 'vermine' in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries (1x.135).

20. The discussion of the editions is based on P. Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography, Oxford 1974, pp.313-16.

21. The 1620 edition mentioned in Lowndes, Bibliographer's Manual, vi.2556 (Mitford sale 1860, lot number 3539) is in fact the play Swetnam, the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women, which was sold for 13 shillings. The 1632 edition is lot 990 in the sale catalogue of Sir M. Masterman Sykes's Library (1824), 3rd part, in which it is described as 'Swetnam's Arraignment of Women, frontispiece, 1632, to Jones £1.3s.' The 1662 edition is described in the sale catalogue of Isaac Reed (1807). It was lot 2694 and sold for £1.15s. Reed owned two other copies of The arraignment of women, both undated, which are lot numbers 2692 and 2693. They sold for 3 and 8 shillings respectively. Lot 2692 may be the present Folger copy of the 1619 edition (see bibliographical description E).

I am grateful to Dr. J. Blom, of the English Department of the University of Nijmegen, for checking the sale catalogues of Mitford, Sykes and Reed.

22. This edition is to be found in the sale catalogue of Thomas Jolley's library of 1835 under the heading 'Facetiae &c octavo & infra' (lot 1344). J.W. Southgate, the book-seller who organized the sale, bought this and other copies himself. This copy fetched 3s.6d.

For Hazlitt see chapter 4 note 71. For Anthony Wood's copy see bibliographical description J.

23. Both woodcuts used for the title-pages of A and B were also frequently used for ballads, or for the title-pages of other popular books on women. The title-page of English-men for my money: or [...] a woman will have her will for example, a play written by William Houghton and published in 1616 by W. White, who also sold ballads, features the same woodcut as the one used for the title-page of B. These woodcuts (as well as the woodcut used

for the title-page of G) were used in numerous ballads on women.

The woodcut used for A features on broadsheets collected in the Roxburghe Ballads, 11.9, 108, 167, 200, 348, and 517. The woodcut used for B was more common, Roxburghe Ballads 1.21, 105, 109, 123, 173, 215, 255, 504, 584, 626; 11.11, 112, 137, 183, 229, 237, 253, 300, 399, 470, 478, 598, 611. The woodcut used for G was also regularly used, Roxburghe Ballads 1.159, 246, 265, 365, 425, 620, 623; 11.65, 98, 159, 362, 528, 617.

(Since the Roxburghe Ballads copy the original blocks and texts of the broadsheets, it is impossible to tell whether the same block was used by the various printers, or whether they copied each other's blocks).

Many of the ballads reproduced in this collection of ballads date to a later period than James I's reign, but the woodcuts used for A and B were in use before 1615. The woodcut used for the title-page of A is copied from a block used on the title-pages of STC 23683 and 12096 (printed in 1592 and 1595). The cut was originally paired with that of a man (see STC 22919). I owe this information to Ms Elizabeth Ingram of the University of Michigan: Ann Arbor.

24. See STC 23535-7.

25. See the bibliographical descriptions of A, B, and C for quasi-facsimile reproductions of the title-pages.

26. There is enough space between 'doubt' and 'least' so that the compositor cannot have read 'doubtless'. OED gives 1659 as its last instance of 'doubt' in the sense of 'fear'. The compositor of D is unlikely to have made the alteration because he was unfamiliar with this meaning of 'doubt'. The alteration makes the passage more forceful though, as it presents a change from uncertainty to certainty.

27. See explanatory note to C2<sup>r</sup>, lines 8-9, for Rachel Speght's response.

28. Rachel Speght's attack occurs in the second part of A mouzell for Melastomus, entitled 'Certaine Quaeres to the Bayter of Women'. In this second part Speght is most of the time pointing to the logical inconsistencies and blasphemies contained in The arraignment of women. A revision of these would have required structural changes in the text of The arraignment of women, which Archer was obviously not prepared to make. The one passage, however, which was relatively easy to emend, has been altered.

29. All changes in paragraph structure in F are an improvement on the previous editions. These have not been incorporated in the present edition, which aims to present the text as it was available to the respondents in the Swetnam controversy.

B3<sup>v</sup> 'For a maryed man [...] kept them not backe', used to be the first sentence of a new paragraph in the previous editions. In F it is added to the preceding paragraph, where it functions as a conclusion to the anecdote described in this paragraph.

B4<sup>r</sup> 'A Kings Crowne & a faire woman is desired of many', is made the first sentence of a new paragraph: as the conclusion to the last preceding paragraph it made less sense.

C1<sup>v</sup> 'And was not David [...] of his God'  
'Sampson was [...] that folly'  
'Did not [...] Dogges?'

These three examples are indented in F.

C2<sup>v</sup> 'Now, if thou drive her [...] not stand in it', is added to the previous paragraph in F. It was an independent paragraph in all previous editions, but acts as a logical conclusion to the previous paragraph in F.

C4<sup>r</sup> 'For then her Brest [...] her heart deviseth', is added to the previous paragraph in F, where it functions as a logical sequel to the last sentence.

C4<sup>r</sup> 'Then who can but [...] by the hooke?' This passage is added to the

next paragraph, where it forms the beginning of a diatribe against the perfidy of women.

D1<sup>v</sup> 'For although [...] it is deadly' is added to the previous paragraph in F, where it acts as a logical conclusion.

D2<sup>r</sup> 'No marvell [...] brambles and bryars'. This sentence is added to the previous paragraph, where it belongs, it is the conclusion to the story about Socrates and Theodora.

E3<sup>r</sup> 'These things [...] fig for the proudest', is made the first sentence of a new paragraph. It suggests a new argument, or a new turning, and was probably made the beginning of a new paragraph for that reason.

30. See note to A4<sup>r</sup>, lines 23-24 in the commentary.

None of the passages which were singled out for attack by Ester Sowernam and Constantia Munda were emended in The arraignment of women, although some of them (like Constantia Munda's protracted jibe on the occasion of Cerberus the 'two-headed Dog') could have easily been changed. This would suggest that Archer never saw the two other responses, or if he did, was not bothered to correct the mistakes pointed out in them.

31. The last instance quoted in OED for 'fool' as a term of endearment or pity is dated 1611; the first instance of 'Animal' in the sense 'contemptuously or humorously for a human being who is no better than a brute, or whose animal nature has the ascendancy over his reason; a mere animal' is dated 1588, although the next recorded instance dates to 1704. This sense of the word 'Animal' seems to be intended here, although it is not clear why 'fool' was substituted by 'animal'.

32. H has not been considered in the textual notes because, being a reprint of A, it would show variations compared to B, C, D, E, F and G which are only a result of its direct deviation from A. These variations are included in 6.4.

33. The original 'King of Ayra' in A, reproduced in the subsequent editions up to I, was based on Swetnam's reading of The foreste, in which King Darius is mistakenly referred to as the 'King of Ayra'. See also the H1<sup>r</sup>, lines 4-13 in the commentary to the text.

34. But J also includes mistakes which had been corrected in I. Although I correctly substitutes 'Venus' for 'Venise' (D4<sup>r</sup>), J returns to 'Venise'. Swetnam originally misrepresented the story, 'Venus' being the goddess, not 'a strumpet'.

35. The only interesting misprint among the plethora of misprints in L is the misreading of 'these' for 'theefe' (I2<sup>r</sup>, lines 20-21), a mistake which persists in subsequent editions but leads in P to the deletion of part of the sentence: 'she called him these, and many other unhappy names' finally made no sense to the compositor of P, and he therefore deleted 'these, and many other'.

36. L2 is considered separately here because it is included in the British Library Catalogue as a 1667 edition.

37. The misprints in L are identical in L2. The spacing of L is identical to L2; also, on B2<sup>v</sup>, B4 and E4<sup>v</sup> for example we find in L, as in L2, letters that have not been impressed: 'bond[ ]ge', 'D[ ]vill', and 'ge[ ]teth'.

There are variations in punctuation and spelling in the preliminaries (A2<sup>v</sup> and A3<sup>r</sup>) but they only occur on these pages (and the misprints on these pages are, again, identical).

| L  | L2                                |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| A2 <sup>v</sup> I know I shall be bitten, by<br>many | I know I shall be bitten by many, |
| A2 <sup>v</sup> women,                               | women;                            |
| A2 <sup>v</sup> spurne,                              | spurn,                            |
| A2 <sup>v</sup> to little                            | too little                        |

A2<sup>v</sup> judge me unkinde

judge, me unkinde

A3<sup>r</sup> but if

but, if

A3<sup>r</sup> chancell doore

chancell door,

38. Elinor Cotes's name usually appears in imprints as 'E. Cotes', but there are imprints with the initials 'E.C.' where it is more than likely that she is the printer, see Wing B 503 (cf. B 503a), or P 3375 and H 389, both of which were printed for Francis Grove.

39. C. Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', in F. Bowers, ed., Studies in Bibliography, Charlottesville, Va. 1953, (5), p.169, refers to Francis Grove's will, proven in March 1663.

40. The printer of M wrongly imposed the type (printed pages A3<sup>v</sup> and A4<sup>v</sup>). He imposed A3<sup>v</sup> on the inner forme, and A4<sup>v</sup> on the outer forme, whereas it should have been the other way round to get the correct sequence of printed pages.

41. For example F4<sup>r</sup>, lines 20-22, the words of Socrates: 'Ha, ha! quoth he, I thought after all this thunder there would come rain'.

The cautionary 'let the old Proverbs put thee in mind hereof' is followed by a series of italicized proverbs (G2<sup>v</sup>, lines 16-22). This is perhaps a typographical indication of the fact that proverbs were by that time no longer 'common stock' and marked as such in texts. The italicization of the proverbs sets them apart typographically from the rest of the text.

42. This introduces another error as a result of the omission of the definite article in 'Cerberus the three-headed dog' in G. Cerberus is now presented as the owner of a dog rather than the creature itself.

43. 'Coney-catching' is last recorded in OED in the past participle form in an instance dating to 1688. The noun 'coney-catching' survives longer, as late as 1703. But it seems likely, in the face of the change to 'cunning-catching', that the compositor no longer understood the meaning of the word 'cunny catching': he does not provide an equivalent (as he would have done in the case of an archaic, but still intelligible word), but introduces another meaning.

44. OED vii.872. The last instance is from 1692.

OED vii.876. The last instance is from 1693.

OED ii.41. In Thomas Fuller's Worthies, the word still seems to have currency: 'He was, though a dwarf, no dastard'. The next instance is from Pope's Illiad, ii.427 (1715): 'And die the dastard first, who dreads to die', where it is used in a literary context, and apparently chosen for its alliterative qualities.

OED vi.505. The 1611 instance is from Beaumont and Fletcher's Knight of the Burning Pestle, II.iii, the 1706 instance concerns an edition of a dictionary first published in the seventeenth century.

OED ii.613. The last seventeenth-century example is from Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, the next instance from P.A. Motteux's edition of Rabelais's works, v.xix.85 (1705): 'they coll'd and clipt us about the Neck'.

OED vi.472. The instance quoted in OED is from a sermon by Isaac Barrow, (c.1677); the next instance is from Byron (1815).

45. The first instance of the word 'Patch-box' in OED, vii.378, is taken from a London Gazette of 1674: 'Lost [...] two silver powder Boxes, and a Patch-box'.

46. The definition which OED, v.140, gives under 5. is relevant here: 'The hair as dressed in some particular manner, applied esp. in the eighteenth century to the heads of powdered and pommaded hair drawn up over a cushion or stuffing, and dressed with gauze ribbon, etc., and then worn'. The first instance in OED dates to 1696.

47. The second dedicatory epistle takes up two pages, A7<sup>r</sup>-A8<sup>v</sup>. O is a



duodecimo edition, and the text begins immediately after the preliminaries on A9<sup>r</sup>. Preliminaries and text were therefore probably printed continuously and the deletion of 'before my second booke comes' decided on before the text was printed.

48. Other than the change from 'having a Wife, and a sufficient Wife' to 'having a wife, with a sufficient Wit' (H4<sup>v</sup>, lines 20-21), incorporated in Q and R.

49. The compositor faithfully worked from his copytext, except for two instances on H3<sup>v</sup>, lines 12-13 and line 16: 'Why some men love their lovers better then their husbands' in A, is in S changed to the more orthodox 'women'; and 'acception' is changed to the current spelling 'exception'. Although these changes also occur in B, the printer did not follow this edition but A. The other changes in the text of B have not been adopted.

50. Half Humankind, eds. K. U. Henderson and B.F. McManus, Urbana, Ill. 1985, present The arraignment of women and the other texts they have edited in modern spelling. But modernisation of the spelling can also corrupt a text. The edition of The Arraignment of Women includes a footnote on the meaning of 'some will not give their bable for the Tower of London' (F3<sup>v</sup>), which is interpreted by the editors as 'Some men men would risk imprisonment in the Tower of London rather than relinquish women's babble. This may also be a pun on the biblical tower of Babel' (p.208). The editors arrived at this conclusion after having incorrectly modernised 'bable' to 'babble', whereas the original spelling is really a variant of 'bauble', and the phrase itself a version of the proverbial 'A Fool will not give his bauble for the Tower of London' (Tilley F476).

51. The misprints in B have been noted in 6.2.

## **Bibliography**

- I. Manuscript sources
- II. Contemporary printed sources
- III. Secondary sources
  - i. Reference works
  - ii. General works
  - iii. Articles

### **I. Manuscript sources**

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- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
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| BM, MS. Harleian 241  | Assignment of lands and revenues for the support of Prince Henry's household, dated 9 May 1610 |
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| BM, MS. Sloane 2530   | Minute book of the London Society of Masters of Defence  |

#### **I,2. London, Guildhall Library**

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
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- |  |   |
|--|---|
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| PROB 11/173, fol.396 <sup>r</sup> -397 <sup>v</sup>              | James Speght's will, proven 1 April 1637.                           |
| PROB 54/11   | Register of bonds of administration 1617-1620.                      |

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- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
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|----------------|---|

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**Een kritische editie van Joseph Swetnams *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1615).**

Dit proefschrift behelst een tekstbezorging van Joseph Swetnams *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women*, een aanval op vrouwen, die voor het eerst uitkwam in 1615, nog hetzelfde jaar werd herdrukt, en in 1617 drie antwoorden uitlokte. De eerste van deze drie antwoorden, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, werd geschreven door een vrouw, Rachel Speght. De andere twee, *Ester hath hang'd Haman*, en *The Worming of a mad Dogge*, verschenen onder vrouwelijke pseudoniemen. In 1620 verscheen bovendien een toneelstuk, *Swetnam the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women*, een dramatische respons op Swetnams *The Araignment of Women*. In 1641 kwam in Leiden een Nederlandse vertaling uit, getiteld *Recht-banck tegen de Luye, Korzelighe en Wispeltuyrige Vrouwen*, die net als het Engelse origineel een aantal herdrukken heeft gehad in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw.

*The Araignment of Women* en de controverse die erop volgde lijken gericht te zijn geweest op verschillende delen van de (Londense) lezersmarkt. *The Araignment of Women* blijkt niet alleen vanwege de vele herdrukken in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw een 'favoriet van de gewone lezer' te zijn geweest; een verkenning van de fondsen van de opeenvolgende uitgevers maakt vanuit het perspectief van de publikatiegeschiedenis van *The Araignment of Women* duidelijk dat de meeste van hen zich concentreerden op het 'gewone' lezerspubliek.

De derde respondent in de Swetnam controverse, Constantia Munda, laat doorschemeren dat *The Araignment of Women* bij Swetnams lezerspubliek, (door Constantia Munda bestempeld als 'sillie swaines'), vooral werd gewaardeerd om de vele historische anecdotes. Deze kwalificatie werd ook gebruikt door de Nederlandse vertaler en uitgever van *The Araignment of Women*, die zijn *Recht-banck* aanpreekt om de 'Historische vertellingen ende kortswijlichheys wille'. Ook het toneelstuk, *Swetnam the Woman-hater, Arraigned by Women*, opgevoerd in het Red Bull Theatre, dat voornamelijk bezocht werd door het 'gewone' publiek, maakt duidelijk dat *The Araignment of Women* niet al te serieus werd genomen door zijn lezers.

De respondenten in de Swetnam controverse tonen zich desondanks bezorgd om de populariteit van *The Araignment of Women*, en geven aan dat zij de

populaire impact ervan teniet wensen te doen. Tegelijkertijd praten zij echter over de hoofden heen van het publiek waar zij zich zo bezorgd over zeggen te maken. Met uitzondering van de eerste respondent, Rachel Speght, lijkt hun verontwaardiging over Joseph Swetnam en zijn The Araignment of Women eerder een pose dan een feit. Alledrie buigen zij zich over de onwetendheid van Joseph Swetnam; vooral Constantia Munda maakt haar doelwit, de 'ignoramus' Joseph Swetnam, belachelijk. Haar antwoord op The Araignment of Women is het meest neerbuigende van de drie, maar alle respondenten hebben gemeen dat zij schrijven vanuit een superieure sociale status. Het is duidelijk dat de controverse niet gericht is op het lezerspubliek van The Araignment of Women; de respondenten refereren naar 'the vulgar ignorant', 'sillie swaines' en 'poore deluded Corydons'.

The Araignment of Women overleefde de deining van de jaren 1615-1620 en bleef tot in de eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw populair. De studie van de publikatiegeschiedenis van The Araignment of Women bekijkt de fondsen van de diverse uitgevers en volgt de overdracht van de tekst. Hierbij is gebleken dat de tekst niet altijd zonder meer werd herdrukt, zoals misschien te verwachten is bij uitgevers die zich richtten op het 'gewone' lezerspubliek. In de editie van 1704 bijvoorbeeld werden een aantal verouderde passages herzien en gemoderniseerd. De tekstbezorging van The Araignment of Women noteert de tekstuele veranderingen in elke editie.

Voorafgaand aan de geannoteerde tekstuitgave van The Araignment of Women zullen in zes hoofdstukken aan de orde komen:

1. de plaats van The Araignment of Women in relatie tot het literaire genre van aanvallen op en verdedigingen van vrouwen;
2. de achtergrond van de schrijver, zijn andere gepubliceerde, nog bestaande werk, The Schoole of the Noble and Worthy Science of Defence (1617), alsmede de bronnen voor The Araignment of Women, voor zover te herleiden, Swetnams proza en de contemporaine receptie van The Araignment of Women;
3. de drie reacties die door The Araignment of Women werden uitgelokt en samen de 'Swetnam controverse' van 1617 vormen;
4. de publikatiegeschiedenis van The Araignment of Women en de Recht-banck;
5. de bibliografische beschrijvingen van de Engelse en Nederlandse edities, waarbij ook de eigenaren van de verschillende edities genoemd worden;
6. een tekstinleiding op The Araignment of Women, waarbij vooral zal worden ingegaan op de overdracht van de tekst.

## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

F.W. van Heertum was born in 's-Hertogenbosch on 2 July 1958, and was educated at the St. Jans-Mavo and the Jeroen Bosch College, 's-Hertogenbosch, and the University of Nijmegen, where she read English from 1978 to 1985. During the academic year 1977-78 she lived and worked in London. During the academic year 1982-83 she studied at Manchester College, Oxford. In 1985 she was employed as a translator on Van Dale's Dutch-English dictionary. From January 1986 to January 1989 she was employed as a junior research fellow at the English department of the University of Nijmegen.





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## stellingen

1. Onzorgvuldige modernisering van de spelling van vroeg moderne teksten houdt het gevaar in dat de betrokken teksten eerder minder dan meer toegankelijk worden.
2. Bij het onderzoek naar vroeg moderne controversiële teksten wordt te weinig aandacht besteed aan de fondsen van de betrokken uitgevers.
3. De uitsluiting van Rachel Speght van een anthologie van 17e eeuwse Engelse schrijfsters op basis van het feit dat haar A Mouzell for Melastomus ontoereikend is, komt neer op het uitoefenen van feministische censuur.  
(Contra: Angeline Goreau, The Whole Duty of a Woman. Female Writers in C17 England, New York 1985, p.68).
4. Simon Shepherd's bewering, dat Euphues his Censure to Philautus tot het werk van John Lyly behoort, kan niet staande worden gehouden.  
(Contra: Simon Shepherd, The Women's Sharp Revenge. Five Women's Pamphlets from the Renaissance, London 1985, p.30).
5. Het is riskant om op basis van literaire bronnen sociaal-historische conclusies te trekken over de positie van de vrouw in de zeventiende eeuw.
6. Het feit dat velen de zogenaamde feminisering in het onderwijs zien als bewijs voor de afnemende waardering voor het beroep van leraar is meer verontrustend dan het verschijnsel van feminisering op zich.
7. Het soms teleurstellende gebrek aan waardering van eerstejaars studenten voor literatuur, en zeker de oudere, heeft misschien niet zozeer te maken met de al dan niet geringe maatschappelijke relevantie ervan, als met een gebrek aan algemene ontwikkeling.

(Stellingen behorende bij A critical edition of Joseph Swetnam's The Araignment of Women (1615) van F.W. van Heertum)



